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Emily Greene Balch: Crusader For Peace and Justice

Thesis submitted to
The Graduate College of
Marshall University

In partial fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of
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By

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Introduction

Emily Greene Balch was the second American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize and worked throughout her lifetime to better the world for her fellow humans. As one who was shaped by the Progressive Movement in both character and action, she has nonetheless never received the historical spotlight given to other workers of her time such as Jane Addams. A survivor of protest against war, she has been virtually ignored despite her many activities and writings on behalf of peace, suffrage, and social reform. Even Mercedes M. Randall, who wrote the only biography of Balch, fails to fully examine her impact upon the peace movements of the 20th century. It is for this reason that this author proposes an examination of Emily Greene Balch's work and influence that she had upon the national and international peace movements during her lifetime. Balch had great interest in the areas of social justice and suffrage but peace ultimately became the major focus of her attention. Putting Balch into perspective in the area of peace requires an intensive look at her life and work.

Emily Green Balch spent her entire life working for a solution for many of the problems that affected people in the United States and abroad. In the area of peace, Balch received recognition during her lifetime for her work as secretary-treasurer and later president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom as well as being a delegate for many meetings of the International Congress of Women in World War I. She also had membership in the Emergency Peace Federation, Young Democracy, the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, and Woman's Peace Party. Balch also channeled much of her energy into social work as testified by her work in Boston's

Denison House settlement, Boston's Children's Aid Society, and the Women's Trade Union League, which she co-founded in 1902.¹

In these pursuits, Emily Greene Balch reflected a trend among women in turn of the century America. American women saw the period of 1895-1915 as a change in direction, with a growing concern for the safety and livelihood of those who struggled to make a living in the new political and social context of American life. This interest came to be known as the Progressive Movement, a great reform concerned among other things with the plight of the helpless against the abuses of "Big Business" and industry that had started to gain power both politically and socially within the United States. Women found that they, as a group, could use the medium of organizations and societies to work together in an attempt to alter the aspects of politics and society that promoted such abuses against the average citizen. To do so, many women felt that it was necessary for them to have a right to vote. Such desire led to a new awareness of suffrage and the formation of new suffrage organizations such as the National Woman's Party and the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women.² As actions in Europe led to World War I, some women found it necessary to speak out against what they considered to be a great moral wrong—war. With the threat of war came various women's peace organizations such as the Women's Peace Union, Woman's Peace Society, and later the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The formation of such groups led to the hopes of ending war and creating a way for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Emily Greene Balch was one of many who worked hard to find and promote solutions to help

¹ Mercedes M. Randall, *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch* (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1964) , 222.

² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959) , 250.

eradicate the problems that plagued her fellow humans in the areas of social justice, suffrage, and peace as the three issues were often intertwined.

Women's peace organizations were a public response to the series of events in Europe that threatened the peace and stability of that continent and ultimately the world. Early American peace organizations had their roots in what Carrie Foster calls "the three so-called historic peace churches—the Friends (Quakers), Brethren and Mennonite."³ Important in these churches, especially the Quakers, was the accepted practice of allowing women to speak in meetings as well as to take on active roles in their activities. Women, who had not been granted political power at the time, could start speaking out for peace publicly on a small scale as early as the formation of the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1681.

While being allowed to speak out publicly in church, women still found themselves excluded from membership in male dominated organizations through out the United States. Therefore, women found themselves organizing their own groups in order to give women an opportunity to work on issues that were important to them as a whole. One important women's group founded as a result of women being denied membership in the male peace organizations of the early twentieth century caught the attention of Emily Greene Balch and other civic-minded women in 1915. This was the organization known as the Woman's Peace Party (WPP). The Woman's Peace Party was formed to exert pressure on the federal government to end the war in Europe and to keep America out of the conflict. Historian Harriet Hyman Alonzo sees the WPP as a continuation of the woman's suffrage/peace effort, calling it a "direct response to the European conflict of 1914" and "a suffrage wing of the peace movement and the pacifist wing of the suffrage

movement.”⁴ Such joint efforts were visible in the various women’s peace organizations of the World War I era.

With this new call for an international peace at The Hague came the New York City Woman’s Peace Party’s decision to form the U.S. section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). This international pacifist organization called for a commitment to world peace with steps to provide legal and economic justice for all.⁵ Catherine Foster notes that the “ideal for resistance would grow into a practice of nonviolence according to the WILPF but as pacifists, they opposed all support for war but refused to specify how others would act.”⁶ The WILPF had great influence upon the peace movement during the First World War in the area of international coordination of effort and cooperation.

Historian Leila J. Rupp looks at the WILPF as an integral part of the international women’s movement in her work, *Worlds of Women: The Making of the International Women’s Movement*.⁷ Rupp examines the WILPF, International Council of Women (ICW) and The International Alliance of Women (IAW). Her study examines the three groups and their often-successful attempts to create a collective international feminist identity through their work on behalf of peace, woman’s suffrage, and human rights. Rupp highlights the work of the WILPF’s international leadership and often uses Emily Greene Balch’s own writings when discussing the transnational organization. Rupp sees the WILPF as being, as she puts it, “the most radical of the organizations, but the most

³ Ibid., 6.

⁴ Alonzo, *Peace*, 56.

⁵ Harriet Hyman Alonzo, *The Women’s Peace Union and the Outlawry of War, 1921-1942* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Knoxville Press, 1989) , 9.

⁶ Catherine Foster, *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens, GA: University of Athens Press, 1989) , 9.

successful in lauding international loyalty above what traditional notions of citizenship might consider appropriate support for one's country."⁸ Being able to keep peace among the international members of the WILPF during wartime was a great accomplishment in itself and the awarding of the Nobel Peace prize to two WILPF leaders was in recognition of such work.

Ironically there was not to be peace within the American women's peace organizations as a group of Women's Peace Society members objected to the use of a radical nonresistant approach. In 1921 the promoters of the radical approach formed their own organization, the Women's Peace Union (WPU). The WPU was organized as a response to the Washington Naval Conference of 1921, which called for disarmament among the nations who attended.⁹ The WPU held firm to its steadfast support of the concept of nonresistance and this idea set it apart from the other women's peace organizations. To achieve their goal of peace, members lobbied Congress for a constitutional amendment to end and outlaw war in the United States.¹⁰

Carrie Chapman Catt created the final major women's peace organization in 1924. It was called the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (NCCCCW). Catt had been a member of the Woman's Peace Party but had been forcibly removed from both membership and her position as honorary vice-chair after she had extended the offer of her suffragist group's services to the war effort.¹¹ The NCCCCW was most significant in terms of size and influence though this was largely due to the combination of various

⁷ Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁸ Ibid., 119.

⁹ Alonzo, *Women's Peace Union*, 23.

¹⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹¹ Harriet Hyman Alonzo, *Peace as a Woman's Issue* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 74.

women's groups that made up its membership. It was an umbrella organization for such groups as the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Trade Union League, and the American Association of University Women that desired to study the issues of war and peace without any direct political involvement.¹²

Upon close examination of the four main women's peace organizations it becomes apparent that they all have one thing in common in spite of their various differing fundamental beliefs—almost all of their leaders were former suffragists. Suffrage work had prepared many for the tested tactics that were needed for informing the public of the need for world peace. These were joined by the rise of the women's peace organizations that came about as a response to the threat of world conflict in Europe. Suffrage work allowed women to prepare skills needed to influence the state and federal governments concerning the vote and later for peace. Suffrage also brought many of the women's ideas together as indicated by the first address of the Women's Rights Convention of 1848 in Worcester, Massachusetts. Speaker Pauline Wright Davis emphasized the connection of women's rights and a peaceful, nonviolent world as she spoke: "The reformation we propose in its utmost scope is radical and universal ... an epochal movement—the emancipation of a class, the redemption of half the world, and a conforming reorganization of all social, political and industrial interests and institutions."¹³ Suffrage could give women equal political power, which democratized the political system. Such public power, suffrage leaders argued, would lead to the election

¹² Carrie A. Foster, *Women*, 7.

¹³ Alonzo, *Peace*, 7.

of government officials who would act in favor of disarmament, international treaties, tribunals, and the abolition of war.¹⁴

Carrie Foster gives several reasons why these former suffragists were willing to work on the peace movement. One was impatience with the lack of women's power in the older male dominated peace groups. This led to an unwillingness by the women to defer to male authority as there was growing sentiment among them that men had failed to use their political voice prevent World War I. Therefore women called for a separate peace society that would include education and support for women, as well as an opportunity to promote leadership among women.¹⁵ Harriet Hyman Alonzo concurs that though there were peace movements, none were independently feminist before 1914 in the United States due to the fact that women held no political power.¹⁶

Frances Early sees the suffrage movement as the basis for the quick response most women had in joining the fledgling peace movement as she relates how many women rapidly moved from suffrage to peace work after the vote for women referendum was defeated in 1915. She notes that one such suffragist, Fanny Witherspoon, published an article in *Call* magazine that linked women's suffrage with the issue of war and peacemaking.¹⁷ Carrie Foster concurs when she writes that, "almost without exception, women peace activists were unwilling to accept the continued second-class citizenship of women and were, accordingly, feminists who supported the drive for woman suffrage."¹⁸ According to Foster, the peace activists believed that private powers had corrupted

¹⁴ Carrie A. Foster, *The Women and the Warriors: The U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1946* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995) , 7.

¹⁵ Ibid., 4, 5.

¹⁶ Alonzo, *Peace*, 4,5.

¹⁷ Frances H. Early, *A World Without War: How U.S. Feminists and Pacifists Resisted World War I* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997) , 16.

¹⁸ Carrie Foster, *Women*, 4.

American democratic society. To solve this problem they advocated diminishing the private power held by men by enlarging the public sphere through women's suffrage. Suffrage was needed to democratize the system and promote the growth of elected representatives that truly represented the public interest in American politics. The public opinion regarding the peace movement was calling for action in disarmament, outlawry of war, and international treaties and tribunals.¹⁹ Foster saw the suffrage movement as imperative to the quest for peace on a national level first and then quite possibly later on an international scale.

It was in this interconnected world of suffrage, peace, and social justice organizations that Emily Greene Balch lived and worked, first as a professor at Wellesley College and later as an executive member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Emily Greene Balch's receipt of the 1946 Nobel Peace Prize indicates that at the time, her work was highly regarded in the eyes of the international community. Balch worked tirelessly drafting resolutions for peace at the national level for the Woman's Peace Party and later on the international front as a member of the Women's International Congress at The Hague. Many of her ideas were considered to be of merit as President Woodrow Wilson's introduction of his Fourteen Points contained identical concepts for a just peace and prevention of further war.²⁰ Balch did more than just argue against war, she offered practical suggestions and solutions through her prolific writings on the subject. Whether it was in her books or magazine articles, Emily Greene Balch was prepared to give more than mere lip service to the concept of peace, she presented solutions. Therefore to understand her ideas for peace and how they came about, one

¹⁹ Ibid., 7.

²⁰ Ibid., 141.

must examine the life of Emily Greene Balch. A prolific writer who left a wealth of documentation on her ideas, activities, and experiences, she wrote or co-wrote ten books, over one hundred articles, and many pamphlets and brochures on the issues of peace, suffrage, and social justice.²¹ Balch was, indeed, a tireless crusader for peace.

It appears that most historians ignore Balch by not including her work and influence in writings about the national and international peace effort of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It may be that Balch's own changing views from that of an absolute pacifist during WWI compromised her place in the peace movement as she reconsidered her pacifist position during WWII. Balch originally was an absolute pacifist, someone who was totally against war and violence in any form. This is verified in an examination of her writings and work against World War I. But as Balch's social consciousness evolved during the events leading up to World War II, she began to realize that the world was headed for another conflict of even greater proportion than the previous war. Emily Greene Balch knew from her personal observations while visiting post war Europe to attend The Hague congress in 1919 just what war and conflict could do to nations economically but more importantly, what it could do to the individuals who lived through it. Balch had witnessed destruction and human despair that she never forgot. With the rise of Nazism and Fascism, Balch found herself in a personal crisis in regards to her pacifism. After enormous inner struggle that she felt "never had reached a clear and consistent conclusion,"²² Balch found herself supporting the war effort in a small way by buying war bonds and assisting European refugees who wished to immigrate to the United States. These actions caused Emily Greene Balch to lose the respect of many of

²¹ Emily Greene Balch, *Beyond Nationalism: The Social Thought of Emily Greene Balch*, ed. Mercedes M. Randall (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1972) , 243-249.

her fellow absolute pacifists. An examination of her life's activities in the peace movements can answer the questions regarding why she should be included in any analysis of peace in American history. Examination of her work may also advance our understanding of the influence that Balch had upon the peace movements of her time.

²² Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 340.

Chapter One

“The new age must be a social age.” EGB, 1916

In order to understand just how Emily Greene Balch came to be interested in the concepts of social justice and peace, an examination into her background is imperative. It was through her family that Balch was endowed with an awareness for the well-being of those individuals who, through no fault of their own, were often lacking in the basic requirements needed for survival. It was this atmosphere of compassion, caring, religious duty and hard work that nurtured and molded Emily Greene Balch for her greatest role, that of peace work..

Born in 1867, Emily Greene Balch came from an old established Massachusetts family that traced its lineage to John Balch, an Englishman who had emigrated from Somerset in 1623. John Balch was part of an expedition involving land grants in the New World. This Balch was considered to be one of the founders of the town named Salem in 1626 and later one of the first nineteen settlers who were made “freemen”²³ of the colony. Salem’s governing body later granted John Balch a large tract of land on 25 November

²³Only church members were allowed to take the oath of freeman, which meant that these members of the church were in control of the town’s government.

1635 and he built a home on it, which was one of the first in the area.²⁴ His immediate descendants became involved in the trading profession and became valued members of the community. Puritan work ethics, religion, and politics as well as the trait of New England self-sufficiency were part of her family history.

Her father, Francis Vergnies Balch, was an attorney and graduate of Harvard College. An excellent student, he was “first scholar” and “class orator” in the class of 1859. A classmate, George Chaney, recalled that Francis Balch had “deliberately tried to lower his rank so that he might not carry too many honors and be also class valedictorian on Commencement Day.”²⁵ Balch was later admitted to the bar in Massachusetts where he practiced law for a year before enlisting in the Union Army in 1862. With a history of poor health, Francis Balch fell seriously ill and was discharged from the army in December of the same year to convalesce at home.

Francis Balch served during the final two years of the Civil War as secretary to United States Senator Charles Sumner. Sumner, while often known for being an ardent, vocal abolitionist leader, was author of a classic work of peace literature entitled, “The True Grandeur of Nations.”²⁶ Balch thus became more familiar with the abolitionist and peace movements as a result of his association with Sumner. As Balch commented:

I was brought up a Conservative Whig, and of course was far from agreement with Mr. Sumner’s views; but again and again I found myself pulling up my conservative stakes and planting them nearer his position until it was only a question of time when I should be brought into entire agreement with him²⁷

²⁴ Emily Greene Balch, *The Papers of Emily Greene Balch, 1875-1961* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, microform, 1988) , (hereafter cited as EGB Papers), series 1, reel 1, box 1.

²⁵ Mercedes M. Randall, *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch* (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1964) , 34.

²⁶ John Herman Randall, Jr., “Emily Greene Balch of New England: Citizen of the World,” *Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom pamphlet, EGB Papers*, 1946, reel 1, box 3.

²⁷ Francis Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 35.

While secretary to Sumner, Francis Balch was able to serve as a clerk to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee where Balch persuaded Sumner to sponsor his own bill on civil service reform. Charles Sumner was so impressed with Balch's character that he later made him legal executor of his estate and was quoted as reportedly saying, "'If Mr. Balch should go to the end of Long Wharf and throw my papers in the sea, I should think it was all right.'"²⁸

Thus Emily Greene Balch was exposed to the concept of peace and justice at an early age as a result of her father's association with Charles Sumner. Francis Balch later became a literary executor of Sumner's estate, in charge of all the writings that Sumner had produced during his long and distinguished career. Balch was able to work along side such notable writers as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Edward L. Pierce, who were responsible for much influence upon the Balch children through their writings.²⁹ Emily Greene Balch's biographer, Mercedes M. Randall, described the atmosphere in which Balch was reared with her sisters Annie, Elizabeth (Bessie), Alice, Marion (Maidie) and brother Francis:³⁰

The New England mind formed the air she breathed. Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes were still living and writing while Emily was growing up, aptly quoted in every household. Hawthorne and the dissenting Thoreau who had urged the duty of civil disobedience were familiar teachers. . . . Longfellow had been an abolitionist, and the Quaker John Greenleaf Whittier and James Russell Lowell had harnessed their Muse to 'the winged Hippogriff Reform' and had written 'burning poems' on abolition, peace and freedom.³¹

²⁸ Charles Sumner as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 35.

²⁹ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 35. Edward L. Pierce was Charles Sumner's biographer. For more information on Sumner see his work, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Boston: Roberts Brothers Publishers, 1877.

³⁰ Ibid., 32,40. Francis and Ellen Balch's first child, a daughter named Catherine "Catie" died at one in 1864 year of age. A second sister named Ellen "Ellie" died at the age of two in 1874.

³¹ Ibid., 37.

The emphasis upon societal issues and community service remained an important part of the Balch family home life.

Balch's mother, Ellen M. Noyes Balch, was from the same New England background and was a first cousin to her husband Francis. Ellen Balch attended the Ipswich Female Seminary studying such subjects as Latin, French, and German. During the Civil War she had taught school in Mattoon, Illinois, where secessionist thoughts prevailed. This was an uneasy situation for her, as her fiancé Francis was serving with the Union army in the 20th Massachusetts Regiment before his later appointment to work on Senator Charles Sumner's staff in 1863.³² But this employment exposed Ellen Balch to the prominent Southern social views that were the opposite of her own and created awareness of social injustices that she did not forget. It was she who first introduced to Emily the world of literature as she read out loud to her children from an early age. Ellen Balch saw education for her children, male and female, as important to future success in life. Balch wrote about her mother saying, "'my mother had not only humor but wit, and a gift for words.'"³³ Emily Balch was sent to private schools in Boston where she received an excellent foundation in academics.

Another close female relative, Aunt Catherine Porter Noyes, known affectionately as "Auntie," taught Emily Greene Balch to read before she went to school which led to her deep love of reading. Catherine Porter Noyes was Francis Balch's sister and had taught school to the liberated slave children on St. Helena's Island in South Carolina during the Civil War.³⁴ It was with Professor William Allen, her aunt's colleague from the St. Helena school, that Emily Green Balch took her first trip to Europe. Allen was taking his

³² Ibid., 32.

³³ Ibid., 31.

seventeen-year-old daughter and a friend for a four-month tour through Sicily, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, England and Scotland.³⁵ “Auntie” kindly arranged for Balch to travel with the party on their vacation after the death of her mother Ellen from Bright’s disease in 1884. While in Europe Emily Greene Balch observed some of the social problems that many cultures faced in Western Europe.

Unlike many in the 1880s, the Balch family favored the concept of higher education for women. When Emily Greene Balch decided to go to college she found that her father was not opposed but supportive. Francis Balch often noted his daughter’s quick mind and aptitude and suggested that she study law and work with him in his practice.³⁶ This attitude was in sharp contrast with many men before the Progressive era who felt women had no place in higher education. Dr. Edward Clark who wrote *Sex in Education* (1873) argued that mental activity in women drew blood from the nervous and reproductive system, which could lead to mental collapse, physical disability, infertility, and an early death.³⁷ Such reasoning added to the arguments made against the higher education of women.

It was in late 1884 that Emily Greene Balch became interested in attending college. She wrote of her decision:

I decided to go to college when to do so was to feel oneself a marked character in the neighborhood, when returning as a college graduate meant to be constantly met with the would-be amusing protest that people were afraid to talk with me, I was so learned. The same people felt no awe, as I well knew, of a college boy, and I could not see why my very modest undergraduate studies should be more of a barrier than his.³⁸

³⁴ Ibid., 45.

³⁵ Ibid., 60.

³⁶ Ibid., 62.

³⁷ Dr. Edward Clark as quoted by Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 278.

³⁸ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 51.

With her father's blessing and support, the question now on Balch's mind was where to further her education. Balch's first choice for college was termed the Harvard Annex, later called Radcliffe College. She and a close friend Alice Bache Gould planned to attend together but Gould's father, a professor of astronomy at Harvard, refused to have his daughter there. Randall has written that Gould's father "was not willing to have it known among his Cambridge friends that he was disgraced by having a daughter at college."³⁹ After reconsideration by her father, Gould attended a college farther away from home and the two women chose to attend Bryn Mawr, an all female college, founded by the Quakers outside of Philadelphia in 1885. Balch entered in the fall of 1886 and completed her studies a year early with the class of 1889, the first to graduate from the institution. Later in life Balch commented on her experience in graduating earlier than normally prescribed:

It was a disadvantage to everything but my vanity that I squeezed so much into three years, utilizing vacations for study, dislocating my class relations, and losing the fourth and most important year of undergraduate study. My work was mainly in the classics, but this was really as I see now curiously against the grain.⁴⁰

In fact from the start Balch intended to study the classics, but it was during her senior year at Bryn Mawr that she stumbled onto a new interest, economics, while studying under Professor Franklin H. Giddings. This new focus in life caused her to reevaluate her priorities, as she came to believe that literature "led to nowhere since I had just enough sense, but barely enough—to know that I was not fitted to be either an original writer nor a critic."⁴¹ Randall noted that Balch was often influenced more by books than people. It

³⁹ Ibid., 51.

⁴⁰ Emily Greene Balch, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁴¹ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 69.

was after reading books about living conditions in London by authors such as Charles Booth, Sir Walter Besant, Charles Kingsley and Jacob Riis that Balch became concerned with what she termed “social compunction,” social issues and social problems.⁴² Later in life, Balch wrote about the effect that such reading had upon her, ““All this had a repercussion on me and I felt that this was no time for ‘idle singers of an empty day’ but for efforts to study and better conditions. This is interesting not as the development of one young woman but as characteristic of my generation.””⁴³ The generation that Balch belonged to would soon be shaped more with the emergence of the Progressive Movement in the United States.

While an undergraduate at Bryn Mawr, Balch encountered another type of movement—women’s suffrage. She entered college as neither a suffragist nor an advocate of women’s rights but eventually decided that it was time to ““change to an opinion which was wholly against my taste and associations.””⁴⁴ As she described: “I feel that I was never so active as I ought to have been in helping to get votes for women. I believe that the advance of women is one of the great historical changes that I have witnessed, but perhaps more important than the vote was the opening of educational opportunities.””⁴⁵ Suffrage was important to Balch because she saw it as a way for women to be used to their full potential. The vote would allow them to have an active participation in life. This position is evidenced in a speech she gave at Wellesley College in 1916 regarding the issue:

⁴² Charles Booth’s *Life and Labor of the People in London* was a study of living conditions in London; Sir Walter Besant’s *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* told the story of London’s East End, and Charles Kingsley’s *Alton Locke* examined the sweatshop system.

⁴³ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 70.

⁴⁴ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 66.

⁴⁵ 1947 Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

Equality also in some sense at least has been continuously a goal toward which America has striven. Equality before the law, without privilege or preference, was posited. Following on this came gradually equality in voting power—a suffrage system in which each adult man counts one and one only. In the northern States the old property qualifications were disappearing during the years preceding 1845, the fifteenth amendment forbade distinctions in voting power on the grounds of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude and in eleven States full suffrage has also been extended to women. But not only equality in voting power but actual equality of opportunity is another of our shining goals. If equality of actual achievement is Utopian the chance to achieve should at least be open to all alike.⁴⁶

The Suffrage Amendment was not ratified until 1920 after the end of World War I.

During Emily Greene Balch's senior year at Bryn Mawr she was chosen to receive the first European Fellowship in order to do postgraduate study in Europe. Balch's selection for the fellowship provided an opportunity for further advanced study in the newly emerging disciplines of political economy and sociology. The Report to the Trustees dated 12 April 1889 notes the reasons given for her selection as the recipient of the first award as being her advanced academic standing, great moral character, and unusual ability. Balch was to study under the direction of Wellesley Economics Professor Frank H. Giddings for a year before her travel to Europe.⁴⁷ As a result of her yearlong preparation at home, Balch studied in Paris for a year, where she learned French, attended lectures, and wrote about the poor-relief program underway in France during 1890. She also worked with Professor Emile Levasseur, while studying French working class history.

Her decision two years later to attend the Summer School of Applied Ethics in 1892 run by Dr. Felix Adler, who was founder of the Ethical Culture Society, also had great impact on Balch's future. It was at this Plymouth, Massachusetts school that she made

⁴⁶ Emily Greene Balch, "What It Means to Be an American," *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁴⁷ Bryn Mawr Trustee Report, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

the acquaintance of two exceptional women who were to influence her life—Jane Addams and Katharine Coman. Jane Addams had already become famous for her internationally known work at Hull House, a Chicago settlement house founded in 1889. Allen F. Davis asserts that Addams, had, along with Ellen Gates Starr, envisioned Hull House as an “instrument for social, educational, humanitarian, and civic reform. They wanted ‘to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society and to add to the social functions of democracy’”⁴⁸ Katharine Coman was a professor of History and Political Economy at Wellesley College. Coman was a member of the College Settlement Association, a group who, according to historian Allen F. Davis, had not heard of Jane Addams, Ellen Gates Starr or Hull House but felt the need to do something to solve the problems created by industrialization in the cities.⁴⁹ Katharine Coman had been on the staff at Denison House, prior to having resigned from the faculty at Wellesley in order to work full time for the Progressive Party.⁵⁰ After graduation from Wellesley College, Emily Greene Balch had founded and became the first head worker of Denison House, a settlement house in Boston. Denison House was founded the year before the financial panic of 1893 and did much work to focus the community’s interest in the area of social needs.⁵¹

In 1895, Emily Greene Balch left behind her social work in Boston and returned to Europe where she spent a year at the University of Berlin in Germany working with Professors Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner who were with the school of political

⁴⁸ Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads For Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984) , 13.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 207.

⁵¹ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 82.

economics known as “social reformers.”⁵² Again Balch was able to master a new language, this time German, as well as become familiar with Socialist theory. It was this interest in what she called “social compunction” and the desire to improve social conditions that led to her further interest in economics and sociology.⁵³

While in Germany Balch attended the July 1896 meeting of the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress in London. This Congress was also called the Second International. The First International had been called to promote cooperation among workingmen’s societies and advance the interest of the working class.⁵⁴ The Second International was organized in 1889 in an attempt to once again unite the labor movement. It was at this gathering that Emily Greene Balch was able to hear firsthand about the solutions to social problems posited by some of the most important Labor, Socialist, and Marxist leaders of the time period such as August Bebel, Jean Jaures, Victor Adler, Clara Zetkin, and Mrs. Aveling who was the daughter of Karl Marx. The meeting was an eye opener for Balch as she was surprised to see that people could be largely concerned with achieving democratic rights, something that Balch took for granted. She saw the focus of the discussions as a move more for democracy than for socialism.⁵⁵ Balch wrote about her experiences in an article entitled “The International Socialist Workers’ and Trade Union Congress, London, 1896” for the *Lincoln House Review*.⁵⁶ In this article Balch vividly described the personalities of the attending

⁵² 1946 Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom memo, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁵³ Emily Greene Balch, *Beyond Nationalism: The Social Thought of Emily Greene Balch*, edited by Mercedes M. Randall (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1972) , xxi.

⁵⁴ Merle Fainsod, *International Socialism and The World War*, (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966) , 4. For more information on the International Congress movements see William Z. Foster’s work, *History of the Three Internationals: The World Socialist and Communist Movements from 1848 to the Present*, (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁶ Emily Greene Balch, “The International Socialist Workers’ and Trade Union Congress, London, 1896.”

delegates and issues discussed during the meetings. Subjects such as the widening of the franchise to include small socialist groups in countries to win seats in government, the inclusion of Anarchists, and debate on proposed industrial legislation were the focal points of her account.⁵⁷ Appealing to Balch was socialism's appeal to the individual, which was to her more than just a class or national characteristic. She noted in her article that for the first time in history a Russian delegate had been admitted to the Congress proceedings, a delegate who had been democratically elected by his fellow Russian workmates. Emily Greene Balch's academic life had taken a full circle from studying classic literature to reading about social misery from authors such as Charles Booth and Charles Kingsley, which prompted her live a life dedicated to pursuit of social justice.

It was upon her return trip from Germany in 1896 that Emily Greene Balch renewed her acquaintance with Katharine Coman. No doubt impressed with Balch's graduate work in Europe and with her reputation, Coman offered Balch the opportunity to teach at Wellesley on a half time basis while primarily being assigned the task of reading and grading papers. By her second semester at Wellesley Balch was teaching a class on her own as an associate professor. As Balch explained, "the fact that I could live at home as so much desired by my father was one great advantage of the Wellesley offer but in any case it was a Godsend when opportunities for a woman to teach economics were rare indeed."⁵⁸

At Wellesley, Balch primarily taught courses in the new fields of sociology and economics, using her personal experience in social work as a guide. Balch was a pioneer

Lincoln House Review, vol. II, no. I, Nov., 1896, 107-114.

⁵⁷ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 41. The published proceedings of the 1896 London Congress can be found in G. D. H. Cole's, *History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. II (1956).

⁵⁸ Emily Greene Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 101.

at Wellesley because she offered courses in socialism and labor problems. Balch taught classes on economics, sociology, as well as special course in "Consumption," which in 1908 was considered to be the first in its field.⁵⁹ She developed a method of instruction that used economic theory, statistics, the history of socialism, practical fieldwork in the community, and materials drawn from the social pathology of urban society.⁶⁰ Later she noted the early criticisms about her socialism course:

The lecture course dealt with the history of socialism, and to my surprise H.G. Wells, in his chapter on Wellesley College, criticized this Wellesley course because students were given Marx to read, as if one could discuss that history without doing so. I regarded this course among other things as a valuable training in thinking for oneself in the face of conflicting evidence and arguments, and I was pleased when at its end a student asked what my conclusion was, as she had not been able to guess from the classroom.⁶¹

Balch herself remarked that she had never been a follower of Karl Marx. "As a student in Berlin in 1895-96," she wrote, "I had been much in contact with democratic socialism among students, and national socialism or 'socialism of the chair' (Kathedersozialismus) among the professors."⁶² She appreciated Marx for calling attention to the economic factor in history but did not accept his theory of class struggle. It was after the First World War that Balch ceased to call herself a Socialist because she felt that "the word seemed to me to have come more definitely to connote the Marxian creed if not actual Party membership."⁶³

Emily Greene Balch had been mindful of the need for social improvement long before she went to study in Europe. But her travels, studies, and experiences abroad equipped her for action upon her return home. It was upon her return to the United States

⁵⁹ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 104.

⁶⁰ John Herman Randall, Jr., *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁶¹ Balch, *Social Thought*, 48, 49.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 49.

that she joined with several prominent social “pioneers” in Boston to form the Women’s Trade Union League in 1903.⁶⁴ The goal of the organization was to help organize female workers into trade unions in order to improve working conditions, and to obtain fair wages for their work. She also joined the Consumer’s League, American Federation of Labor and was instrumental in the drafting of the first minimum wage bill to be presented to an American legislature.⁶⁵ Balch also found time from her busy schedule to serve as a member of the Massachusetts State Commissions on Immigration and Industrial Education.⁶⁶

During the 1904-05 academic year, Balch was granted a sabbatical leave of absence from Wellesley. Her purpose was to study Slavic immigration to the United States, an investigation that had not been attempted before nor was truly understood by her colleagues. Balch noted that her point of view for the study was “interest in the social character and consequences of emigration.”⁶⁷ She was determined to investigate first hand the conditions that immigrants faced in their home countries, which led to their desire to immigrate. Balch explained her actions in the preface of her book:

Acquaintance with any immigrant people in America only is not enough. To understand the immigrant we should know him in the conditions which have shaped him, and which he has shaped, in his own village and among his own people; we should study the culture of which he is a living part, but which he is for the most part powerless to transport with him to his new home. he must, however, be known also as he develops in America in an environment curiously and intricately blended of old and new elements.⁶⁸

⁶³ Ibid., 50.

⁶⁴ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 112.

⁶⁵ John Herman Randall, Jr., *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁶⁶ 3 August 1937 news release, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, *EGB papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁶⁷ Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York, NY: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), vi.

⁶⁸ Ibid., v.

For the first part of her book, Balch traveled to Austria-Hungary with a young settlement house worker, Effie Murray Abrams, and she lived with local families while learning about the various regions and peoples. She noted that the topic of Slavic immigration appeared to naturally classify itself into three areas—geographical, racial, and by topics.⁶⁹ The first two areas were to be explored during her European travels while that last subject—topics-- seemed to be more fitting to the study of the period after the immigrants had settled in the United States.

Randall described how *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*: “interpreted with rare insight, sympathy, and humility, the much depreciated Slavic immigration.”⁷⁰ Balch kept in mind during her research and writing that her findings would have to endure the skepticism of those who were against Slavic immigration to the United States. Balch’s work was especially important in defeating ideas proposed by organizations that had racist theories such as the Immigration Restriction League. Started in Boston during 1894, this group had as its members such notables as Henry Cabot Lodge, the politician; Robert A. Woods, Boston’s most distinguished social worker; David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University; and A. Lawrence Howell, president of Harvard.⁷¹ The Immigration Restriction League argued that open immigration was a result of the steamship companies’ desire for making money, that the immigrants were from the lower social classes of their countries, and that the national character of the Slavic peoples prevented them from developing politically and culturally outside of their own nations. Emily Greene Balch’s book refuted such ideas and concepts and told a more accurate story of immigration. She described how immigrants struggled to adapt to their new surroundings

⁶⁹ Ibid., vii.

⁷⁰ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 118-119.

and cultural practices, which often were quite different from those in their homelands.

Balch saw emigration as a modernizing force:

So far as American emigration has any cultural effects, it probably goes to enhance the tendency of the civilization of our times to wipe out all distinctive traits. The nineteenth century brought indeed a great renaissance of Bohemian or Chekh, the national language, which is one of the richest and most highly developed of the Slav linguistic family, and the organ of a noble literature; but most of the old-world ways, that is, the specifically Bohemian ways, which once gave the country a more special flavor, are gone or going fast.⁷²

Emily Green Balch was aware that though emigration was a modernizing force in the Slavic countries, it also created an atmosphere that led to a refuting of the cultural norms of that nation in favor of new ones.

While in Austria-Hungary Emily Greene Balch identified the various Slavic nationalities: Russian, Ruthenian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Czech, Croatian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, as well as the various languages that made up the Slavic linguistic family. These languages were Russian, Bulgarian, Servo-Croatian, Slovenian, Polish, Bohemian, and Slovak.⁷³ This information was imperative in explaining the complex ethnic composition of what many in the U.S. understood to be one single group of immigrants—the Slavs.

Part One of the book dealt with the immigrants and conditions in their country of origin. Part Two dealt with such subjects as the history of Slavic immigration, newer Slavic immigration, present distribution of Slavs in the U.S., economic situations, farming, organized life of the Slavic immigrants in the U.S., and the question of assimilation. Included in the book were appendices full of statistical, bibliographical and

⁷¹ Ibid., 119.

⁷² Balch, *Slavic*, 82.

⁷³ Ibid. 7, 14.

other information. Balch's research had led her from examination of the social problems resulting from European immigration to America to a broader focus on international social conditions more generally.

In her final comments at the end of the book, Balch summed up what needed to be done in the area of U.S. immigration in regard to the immigrants themselves:

America must come to mean to them, not a rival nationality eager to make them forget their past, and offering ideals. We must learn to connect our ideals and theirs, we must learn, as Miss Addams has demonstrated, to work together with them for justice, for human conditions of living, for beauty and for true, not merely formal liberty. Clubs and classes, libraries and evening schools, settlements and, above all, movements in which different classes of citizens join to bring about specific improvements in government or in living conditions, are of infinite value as they conduce to this higher unity, in which we may preserve every difference to which men cling with them for justice, for humane conditions of living, for beauty and for true, not merely formal liberty.⁷⁴

Emily Greene Balch was qualified to make such assertions because, after studying conditions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, she had made her way across the United States examining conditions in which the new immigrants often lived. She spent time in Pennsylvania mining camps, settlement houses of the larger Midwest cities, and among farmers on the east coast and Midwest farming communities. Balch's sabbatical from Wellesley had been unpaid and Balch herself had financed the costs of the extensive study. But for Emily Greene Balch the labors had been worth all the hardships that she had endured during her travels. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom hailed her book as the "most considerable sociological study, which marked an epoch in the scientific analysis of immigration problems."⁷⁵ Balch herself said of this work many years after it was written that her findings "made her increasingly convinced

⁷⁴ Ibid., 425.

⁷⁵ 1946 WILPF memo, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

of the need for great social change, a view less generally accepted than now.”⁷⁶ On a personal level, Emily Greene Balch was learning much about the concept of nationality itself. She noted in her book:

First, as to the question of Slavic nationality. The idea of nationalist is itself a complex one. It is far from being identical with that of the political unit (the state or nation), or with the purely physical conception of race. Three factors at least enter into it: community of blood evidenced by physical likeness, community of language, and community of culture and ideals.⁷⁷

It was this experience in writing *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* that would build the foundation for the greatest of her work, that of international peace.

In response to all of her research and writings, Emily Greene Balch was appointed full professor and chair of the “Political Economy and Political and Social Science” at Wellesley in 1913. Balch was honored by the appointment but future events in Europe soon moved her life in a very different direction. Through her social work, Emily Greene Balch had seen a need for better living and working conditions for people. Time spent at Denison House and on the board of the Women’s Trade Union League had alleviated some of the social problems faced by many individuals on the local level in Massachusetts. After her work on Slavic immigration, Balch came to the realization that there was much more to be done on both the national and international levels in the areas of social justice. She saw first hand how social difficulties for these immigrants was not limited to a certain national border but rather, were components of an overall international problem. This awareness led Emily Greene Balch to conclude that international intervention was a necessary step in the task of improving social conditions

⁷⁶ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, xxiv.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 10.

within an individual nation. It was this early experience in social justice that prepared Balch for her most important work, that of international peace.

Chapter Two

“Lovers of our own lands, we are citizens of the world.” EGB, 1922

Events in 1914, with the beginning of World War I, caught many American women by surprise by the intensity and furor of the battle in Europe. As the grisly facts about the slaughter of soldiers and innocents became known, these women began to speak out publicly about the violence and war. By 1915 women had begun to form international peace organizations that called for an end to war and for a peaceful resolution of conflicts. In America, one of these new peace movements was The Woman’s Peace Party. Emily Greene Balch, concerned about conflict in Europe and the suffering resulting from it, was most keenly interested in this new organization.

The Woman’s Peace Party was created on 10 January 1915 after a two-day convention in Washington, D.C. This convention was the result of interest after a series of meetings nation wide that were addressed by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence of Great Britain and Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary. Jane Addams had proposed the women’s convention

in order to organize a peace movement in the United States. She indicated her reasons for a separate women's peace movement in a December 1914 letter to Carrie Chapman Catt, the leader of the American suffragist movement and peace advocate:

I quite agree with you as to the masculine management of the existing Peace Societies. I have been identified with them for years, and while I believe that men and women work best together on these public measures, there is no doubt that at this crisis the women are most eager for action.⁷⁸

There was to be a new peace organization, one that would be separate from the current male dominated groups, to be organized and directed by women.

At the New Willard Hotel, a group of about 3,000 interested persons listened to addresses by such speakers as Carrie Chapman Catt, Lucia Ames Mead, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Jane Addams, and the two European women, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and Rosika Schwimmer.

The convention elected Jane Addams as chairman while Anna Garland Spencer, Fanny Villard, Lucia Ames Mead, Sophonsiba Breckinridge and others formed the National Headquarters. The Co-Operating Council included separate women's groups such as the International Woman Suffrage Alliance headed by Carrie Chapman Catt, National Council of Women headed by Kate Waller Barrett, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association headed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The purpose of this new organization was to enlist all American women in arousing all nations to respect the sacredness of life and to abolish war. The platform included a call for a convention of neutral nations for peace, a limitation of armaments, opposition for militarism in the United States and education of youth in the ideals of peace. The women also suggested

⁷⁸ Jane Addams to Carrie Chapman Catt, 21 December 1914, *The Records of the Woman's Peace Party, 1914-1920* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, microform, 1988), (hereafter cited WPP Papers), series A, reel 2, box 2, folder 1.

that there be democratic control of foreign policy, extension of the franchise to women, and an international police force to replace rival armies and navies. Most important in the document was a call for a “Concert of Nations” to supersede the “Balance of Power” and a removal of the economic causes of war with a commission to be appointed by the United States government of both men and women to promote international peace.⁷⁹

Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the first Dutch female physician, invited the Woman’s Peace Party to join as part of the American delegation to the first International Women’s Congress to be held at The Hague in late April 1915.⁸⁰ Membership was restricted to those women who agreed that women should have the vote and that international disputes should be settled by pacifist means.⁸¹ Those organizing the Congress wanted a person of international recognition to head the meeting as a presiding officer and they asked Jane Addams to take on the responsibility. On the 13th of April, 1915, forty-seven women set sail for the Netherlands and the Congress. One of those on board was Emily Greene Balch.

Emily Greene Balch had become a member of the Woman’s Peace Party while teaching at Wellesley. Balch, after having become interested in international affairs while researching Slavic immigration, found herself drawn to this fledgling woman’s peace movement. Like others, she was interested in stopping further bloodshed of innocents and wanted to organize in order to find ways to promote a peaceful solution to the war.

⁷⁹ Woman’s Peace Party, *WPP Papers*, series A, reel 2, box 2, folder 7. For a detailed history of the Women’s Peace Party see Marie Louise Degen’s *History of the Woman’s Peace Party* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing Co., 1972).

⁸⁰ Marie Louise Degen, *History of the Woman’s Peace Party* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1972), 67.

⁸¹ Outline of the History of the Women’s Peace Party, *WPP Papers*, series A, reel 2, box 2, folder 1.

A notice in the *Wellesley College News* dated 8 April 1915, about a peace meeting on campus, indicates Balch's early interest in becoming an active member:

All interested in the Woman's Peace Movement, those who had heard Madame Schwimmer Wednesday evening, and others, who had heard about her stirring appeal, gathered in Billings Hall, Thursday noon; March 25, to arrange for temporary organization. Miss Balch was elected chairman.⁸²

Balch had spent much of her adult life working on social problems and was moving toward what would come to be the most important work of all, that of peace. Balch asked for and was granted a year's leave of absence in order to attend the conference as a representative of both the Wellesley branch of the Woman's Peace Party and the Women's Trade Union League.⁸³

While at The Hague, Emily Greene Balch participated in the drafting of the conditions for a permanent peace which included territory not being transferred without consent of those who lived within its borders, self government and a democratic parliament for all peoples, agreement by the governments of all nations for arbitration of disputes, foreign policies being subject to democratic control, and the granting of equal political rights for women.⁸⁴ Balch also wrote about what she considered the five most important undertakings of the Congress, she wrote that these included the solidarity of the women in "finding firm and common ground under their feet even in the midst of war," the strong platform, "the permanent international pacifist organization of women," the plans for another Congress to meet after the war had ended, and finally the mission to call upon the belligerents and neutral countries in order to promote peace.⁸⁵ It is interesting to note

⁸² Wellesley College News, *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

⁸³ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 141.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁵ Emily Greene Balch, "At The Northern Capitals," *Women At The Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results* (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1915) , 107.

that while discussing the importance of the resolutions passed by the Congress of Women, historian Leila J. Rupp does not give direct credit to the few women who worked in actually drafting the proposals. Rupp comments that “those who could attend passed a series of resolutions” instead of crediting those who actually did the work. With the exception of mentioning Rosika Schwimmer’s “controversial” contribution of requesting that the Congress send envoys to both the belligerent and neutral nations, not one other participant in the drafting of the resolutions is acknowledged by name.⁸⁶

Emily Green Balch, Jane Addams, and Alice Hamilton, all American delegates, considered the International Congress of Women’s meeting to be successful. They had helped organize a Women’s International Committee for Permanent Peace with Addams as chairman and international headquarters to be set up at The Hague.⁸⁷ In order for the resolutions and activities to become more available to the public, the three women wrote a book about their experiences entitled *Women At The Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results*.⁸⁸ Published in 1915, this work details the experiences of each of the three American women as they served on committees that visited either neutrals or belligerents involved in the war. Balch traveled to the neutral Scandinavian countries and Russia, while Hamilton and Addams called upon the belligerent governments in an attempt to bring both sides to mediation in order to end the conflict. In her chapters, Balch gave her impressions of the Congress, her visit to the Northern capitals, and concluded with an essay on the time to make peace. Addams wrote on the revolt against war and the factors in continuing the war, while Hamilton

⁸⁶ Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 28.

⁸⁷ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 78.

⁸⁸ Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch and Alice Hamilton, *Women At The Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results*, (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1915).

discussed her visits to the war capitals. Included in the appendices of the book were the resolutions and the Manifesto that were adopted by the members of the Congress.

In her chapter of *Women At The Hague* entitled “The Time For Making Peace,” Balch looked into the matter of peace between the belligerents and found that it was what she considered to be a “question of terms.”⁸⁹ She saw the war as a war between two great sets of belligerent powers but also as a struggle between two conceptions of national policy. As she put it, “the catchwords imperialism and democracy indicate briefly the two opposing ideas. In every country both are represented, though in varying proportions, and in every country there is a strife between them.”⁹⁰ Balch remarked that the overriding of regular civil government by the military in a warring country was one of the little understood effects of war along with the two contending voices where nationalism is “presented with a microphone” while the other is “muffled or gagged.”⁹¹ Patriotism was acceptable to the masses yet those who were moderate found themselves silenced by social pressure. She further stated that those who gain as a result of war often are unwilling to submit to peace terms that may include losing those gains. Therefore, a neutral party was needed, as Balch saw it, to begin movement toward a settlement and negotiated peace for World War I. Balch lamented, “there is every reason to believe that a vigorous initiative by representatives of the neutral powers of the world could at this moment begin a move towards negotiations, and lead the way to a settlement which, please God, shall be a step toward a nobler and more intelligent civilization than we have yet enjoyed.”⁹² Emily Greene Balch’s views on the importance of internationalism in the

⁸⁹ Emily Greene Balch, “The Time For Making Peace,” *Women At The Hague*, 111-123.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

peace effort would play a large part in how the Woman's Peace Party and later the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom pursued their goals for world peace.

But the new peace movement had its critics who ridiculed the attempt by these women to promote peace. Theodore Roosevelt was one outspoken critic who, when sent a copy of the prospectus of The Hague Congress' 1915 meeting by a Mrs. George Rublee, a delegate and member of the Woman's Peace Party, stated in a letter to the *Chicago Herald* that the party platform was "silly and base."⁹³ He further compared the Woman's Peace Party to the Copperhead Movement of Peace Democrats of the 1860s saying

. . . a very large proportion of the peace at any price or copperhead sympathizers were undoubtedly physical cowards, and equally undoubtedly a very large proportion of ultra-pacifists of today who uphold such views as those outlined in the paper [prospectus] you inclosed (sic), in championing peace without regard to righteousness, are really most influenced by physical cowardice. They fear death or pain or discomfort beyond anything else and like to hide their fear behind high sounding words.⁹⁴

Roosevelt predicted that "not one particle of good will be obtained by any such action as that outlined in the paper you sent."⁹⁵ Roosevelt's theory would later be challenged by the announcement of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points in January 1918 for within the famous document were many of the ideas of the women's peace movement regarding a permanent world peace.

Emily Greene Balch's brother, Francis, also questioned her role in the peace movement. In a letter dated 7 April 1915, before Balch was scheduled to leave for the

⁹³ Theodore Roosevelt as quoted by Degen, *History*, 70.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

International Congress of Women at The Hague, Francis Balch had written her in an attempt to dissuade her from attending. Francis Balch wrote to his sister:

I dislike the auspices under which you are going—if I understand them correctly. It seems to me a very ill-judged thing and –if you will excuse me for speaking frankly—an intensely selfish thing, to inject the woman-suffrage issue into the peace question. I think the female politicians responsible for it (I don't know who they are) justly forfeit in advance confidence both in their wisdom and their motives. What are those quite single-mindedly in favor of peace, but who oppose woman suffrage, now to do? Make a farce of it by holding an anti-suffrage peace meeting? . . . And then when we have got through pulling each others hair how much nearer will peace be! Unlike things should not be confused together, nor should one particular question endeavor to make political capital by turning to its own account such a thing as world's peace. I think the attempt is going to result—is already resulting as far as it has come to public notice –in a reaction very unfavorable to suffrage and I fear to peace also.⁹⁶

Even though Francis Balch was acquainted with his sister's work, he utterly missed the point that she and the other members of the women's peace movement were trying to make. He added in his letter “do look out not to crystallize a public opinion that peace is something for women only to talk about, and that even among them it is used for the advancement of cliques instead for all.”⁹⁷ This comment is in response to Balch's given reason for attending the congress as she had said it was to influence public opinion towards peace. Balch answered Francis Balch and other skeptics. In a paper written for the American Sociological Society, which she presented in December 1915, Balch answered her brother and other critics.

The title of Emily Greene Balch's paper for the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society was “The Effect of War and Militarism on the Status of

⁹⁶ Francis Balch to Emily Greene Balch, *EGB Papers*, reel 5, box 6, folder 11.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Women.”⁹⁸ While acknowledging that this was a difficult and broad question Balch effectively answered the questions of the women’s peace organization critics. While first discussing the aspects of femininity and motherhood roles for women, Balch considered the new conception of woman. This new woman was, as she called it, “a conception of woman, of her dignity as woman, of her endowment as woman, with sacred prerogatives and duties. The so-called woman’s movement first took the form of abandoning the effort to achieve the type of womanhood that men realized and desired and rewarded.”⁹⁹ Balch continued, “women tended to show that they could do the things that men could do, that they could meet the tests of manly courage, ‘strong-mindedness,’ interest in political questions, etc.”¹⁰⁰ Emily Greene Balch thus explained for her audience the reasons why women had taken this bold step toward securing political equality with men. Women would need a say in the political sphere in order to bring about this change to gain political power in order to stop war. On the question of suffrage, Emily Greene Balch admitted that women were forced in the belligerent countries to stop agitating for it but that the change (suffrage) would be coming eventually and it was a matter of not whether, but when. And in order to do this fully, women would have to shed the perpetuated male definition of “True Womanhood; piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity,” which saw women as helpless, innocent, virtuous, and physically dependant upon men.¹⁰¹ Balch’s ideas proposed “that only through the equal participation of ‘the mother half of humanity’ in all governments

⁹⁸ Emily Greene Balch, “The Effect of War and Militarism on the Status of Women,” *Papers and Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1915) , 39-55

⁹⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1994) , 16.

everywhere could war and its consequences be ended, especially the victimization of women and children.”¹⁰² She conceptualized female activism for international peace as an extension of the accepted roles of maternalism.

Emily Greene Balch also envisioned a second stage of women’s emancipation where women could decide for themselves if they wanted to be the kind of woman that they approved of, not to meet a man’s standard but to meet their own standard for themselves. In relation to war, Balch argued that women in the belligerent countries were freer than men to express and act out their ideas against war as they were not involved in military service. The number of women united together without the fear of depletion by serving in the armed forces allows them to gain an influence that led in her opinion “to a spiritual balance of the sexes and brings women nearer to an actual partnership with men working for the future of civilization.”¹⁰³

As to the specific effects of war on women, Balch identified three, which included: a surplus of women in relation to the number of available men, the importance of this group in the area of employment due to a shortage of manpower during such wars, with the end result being a great increase in unmarried women who, permanently and professionally occupied, were free to risk their living for a cause they believe in.¹⁰⁴

Balch further identified what she termed a new sex, “International.”¹⁰⁵ Balch felt that the ability of women from all countries to be able to meet during wartime, understand one another, and have the same goals illustrates the concept of this new sex. The international meeting of women at The Hague earlier in April 1915 was the perfect model

¹⁰² Harriet Hyman Alonzo, *Peace as a Woman’s Issue, A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women’s Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 68.

¹⁰³ Balch, *American Sociological Society*, 51.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

of how this new sex had come about. Balch ended her paper with the comment, “Someone has said, ‘If the brotherhood of man had grown so much in the last two centuries as the sisterhood of women has grown in the last two decades, this war would not have occurred.’ One may refuse to assent to this and still think that the solidarity of women is growing, that the war has quickened its growth, and that this is a fact worth the notice of the sociologist.”¹⁰⁶ Women’s solidarity indeed had grown as a result of the war.

Emily Greene Balch’s predictions regarding the growing status of women in the international scene were exemplified when President Woodrow Wilson personally asked Balch in April 1915 to call upon him at the White House to report upon the activities of the International Women’s Congress held at The Hague, especially the interviews done by the women in Russia, Scandinavia, Holland, and London.¹⁰⁷ Balch had made known to Wilson that Dr. Aletta Jacobs of the Netherlands had planned to make a trip to call upon him. He reportedly was reluctant to meet with her as the newspapers might make much of him receiving a foreign female peace advocate. Further, Wilson told Balch “‘he would not wait to wait to ask to mediate, if he saw any opportunity to be of use he would take it.’”¹⁰⁸ She reported after another meeting in August 1915, “I left filled with the greatest admiration for him personally, but bitterly disappointed that he practically vetoed the plan. The war went on, more and more furiously, for over three years longer.”¹⁰⁹ Balch was disgusted that Wilson would not do more to expedite an end to the conflict.

Jane Addams also visited Wilson earlier in the same month and attempted to get his opinion of The Hague Resolutions. The Hague Resolutions were a number of resolutions

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 55.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 229.

¹⁰⁸ Degen, *History*, 117.

passed on such issues as “‘Women and War,’ ‘Action towards Peace,’ ‘Principles of a Permanent Peace,’ ‘International Cooperation,’ ‘The Education of Children,’ and finally, ‘Action to be Taken.’”¹¹⁰ Marie Louise Degen noted in her work, *The History of the Woman’s Peace Party*, that the resolutions found under the heading “Principles of a Permanent Peace” were also found in the Woman’s Peace Party’s “Program for Constructive Peace,” giving attention to the large contribution that the American delegation gave to The Hague Resolutions.¹¹¹ Jane Addams previously had sent Wilson a copy of the founding resolutions of the Woman’s Peace Party in 1915. Wilson responded to Addams’ gesture in a 15 January 1915 letter

It gives me a peculiar gratification that you and your associates should feel as you do about my recent address to Congress and I thank you most warmly for your kindness in transmitting to me the resolutions of the National Board of the Woman’s Peace Party.¹¹²

The Woman’s Peace Party on 10 January 1915, had passed these resolutions a full three years before Wilson made his ‘peace without victory speech’ in 1918 that outlined his famous Fourteen Points. Jane Addams later recalled to her fellow members at the 1919 International Congress Wilson’s words to her about the resolutions passed in 1915:

He drew out the papers I had given him, and they seem to have been much handled and read. ‘You see I have studied these resolutions,’ he said, ‘I consider them by far the best formulation which up to the moment has been put out by anybody.’¹¹³

Because Woodrow Wilson had indicated to both Addams and Balch that he would not be willing to meet with representatives of belligerent countries as suggested to him by the resolutions passed at The Hague, it was decided to call another meeting of the

¹⁰⁹ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 78.

¹¹⁰ Degen, 84-89. A detailed discussion on The Hague resolutions is found in the cited pages.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹¹² Woodrow Wilson letter to Jane Addams, 15 January 1915, *WPP Papers*, reel 2, box 2, folder 7.

International Congress of Women in order to announce the reports of those who had traveled to the neutral and belligerent countries and to decide on steps for further action to attain peace. The members agreed at this meeting to allow the Woman's Peace Party the opportunity to affiliate itself with the International Congress of Women on a permanent basis. In order to do so, the Woman's Peace Party would be required to support woman suffrage and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.¹¹⁴ The organization agreed to do so and after the war voted to become the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom with internationalism as one of their main areas of focus.¹¹⁵

Of the American women who belonged to the Woman's Peace Party, all were suffragists of varying degrees. Although there was a small faction within the Woman's Peace Party, that continued to attempt to mix the idea of suffrage as being a primary element of peace work, many women became interested in the new woman's peace movement. Historian Harriet Hyman Alonso points to the Woman's Peace Party as being a continuation of the woman's suffrage/peace effort: "a suffrage wing of the peace movement and a pacifist wing of the suffrage movement."¹¹⁶ And having been organized in the suffrage work, these women used its time-tested tactics on their all out public awareness campaign for peace. These tactics included petitions, letter writing campaigns,

¹¹³ Ibid., 78.

¹¹⁴ Report from the Board of Officers of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, 4 October 1915, *The Jane Addams Papers*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1985) , reel 9, #176-177.

¹¹⁵ Alonso, *Peace*, 83.

¹¹⁶ Alonso, *Peace*, 56.

lobbying, teas, luncheons, parades, public meetings, and Judiciary hearings in order to keep the topic on the public's mind and to keep them informed on the issues of peace.¹¹⁷

Jane Addams also organized the New York City branch of the Woman's Peace Party in 1915. This particular group was created as a means of concentrating all statewide efforts to continue exerting pressure on the government to keep America out of the war. Within the NYC branch, however, were some of what were considered the more radical pacifists of the Woman's Peace Party. Led by Fanny Garrison Villard, daughter of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, many of those who disagreed with the Women's Peace Party on issues such as absolute pacifism and militarism finally broke away after America's entry into the war to form their own group in 1919. Calling themselves the Women's Peace Society, they pledged, as stated by member Elinor Byrns, to "be built on moral principle and not just anti-war activity."¹¹⁸ Woman's suffrage, complete disarmament and total opposition to bloodshed for any reason were the main areas of focus for this organization.¹¹⁹ Still, disagreements plagued the Women's Peace Society over issues of nonresistance and in 1921 many left to form the more radically nonresistant Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere. The remainder of the NYC branch of the Woman's Peace Party remained intact until the merging of the Woman's Peace Party with the International Women's Congress in 1919 to form the U.S. branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.¹²⁰

Emily Greene Balch had returned in the summer of 1916, after taking another leave of absence from her teaching duties at Wellesley College, from the Stockholm Neutral

¹¹⁷Harriet Hyman Alonso, *The Women's Peace Union and the Outlawry of War, 1921-1942* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997) , 25.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 12.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Conference for Continuous Peace where she had worked with the commission of international lawyers, peace workers, and experts set up by Henry Ford on ideas for a mediated peace program.¹²¹ Balch wrote two studies for the Conference's Committee on Constructive Peace; one regarding a plan for rehabilitation of Europe to be financed by the neutrals as a substitute for war indemnities, and the other a proposal for an international administration of colonies which was similar to the later mandates system of the League of Nations.¹²² But upon her return Balch found that many in the United States were involved in a preparedness campaign that she felt would bring the country closer to war. Concerned with this turn of events and her own personal pacifist beliefs, Balch chose to take yet another unpaid leave of absence from Wellesley for the academic year 1917-1918 following the end of her second sabbatical, which had originally been for the purpose of further graduate work at Columbia University.¹²³ Balch explained her reasons for choosing to not resume her teaching position:

When in the spring of 1917, as my Sabbatical year was drawing to a close, the United States entered the war, I felt that my return to Wellesley the next year would be embarrassing for my college and to me, and that it would be better for my students for classes to continue as they were for another year. I therefore asked for, and received, a year's leave of absence without pay.¹²⁴

Emily Greene Balch also wanted to work on a collection of various proposals for a mediated peace. Entitled *Approaches To The Great Settlement*, this book of peace proposals was published and promoted by the NYC branch of the Woman's Peace Party and the American Union against Militarism in January 1918.¹²⁵ As America had entered

¹²⁰ Alonzo, *Peace*, 83.

¹²¹ "Workers for Peace Return to See Ford," *The New York Times*, 7 July 1916, p.3.

¹²² Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 86.

¹²³ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 216.

¹²⁴ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 246.

¹²⁵ Degen, *History*, 211; Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 259.

into the First World War with the passage of the war resolution in Congress on 6 April 1917, this timely work put forth the various peace terms that had been proposed by different countries and individuals up to that time. With America now fully involved, Balch had started to think more and more in internationalist peace terms as she studied and lobbied for an end to World War I.

Approaches To The Great Settlement was divided into three main sections; those notes, documents, and messages dealing with America and Germany; socialists, Russia, and issues of settlement or peace programs; Socialist and Labor documents from world wide organizations; and peace programs that had been proposed as alternatives to help end the war. The work included a bibliography of current books and articles that dealt with the problem of achieving a peaceful settlement. In a journal entry regarding her book, Balch wrote, “It was a lot of work and I am not at all proud of the method or lack of it in the way it was done but I hope it will be useful a little and that I shan’t be found to have made any egregious blunders. It is easy to, that I feel as if the book were a sort of powder mine.”¹²⁶ Interestingly enough, the program that had been prepared by the American section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace was included but with the idea that it be presented to the after-the-war Congress of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. Many of the international problems listed in the document were similar to those identified by Emily Greene Balch in her personal writings¹²⁷ and the Woman’s Peace Party platform.

The publication of *Approaches To The Great Settlement* brought forth a renewed interest by many who opposed America’s entry into the war for a negotiated peace

¹²⁶ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 260.

¹²⁷ Emily Greene Balch, undated sketch of her activities and writings, *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 2, folder 4.

settlement. President Woodrow Wilson was one who had previous ties to the peace movements as he had solicited membership in 1908 to the American Peace Society while president of Princeton and had become both an active member and speaker.¹²⁸ The crux of the Wilson administration's early stance for neutrality and peace also appeared to be strong stand of public opinion combined with the pressure exerted by the various peace organizations, particularly the women's groups against war. Emily Greene Balch and Jane Addams were diligent in keeping Wilson informed of their proposals for peace through transmission of their proposals and platforms, which Wilson acknowledged by letter.¹²⁹ His own personal views and that of public opinion had been extremely important to Wilson as he attempted to chart and navigate a course of neutrality early in the conflict that would keep him from commitment to either side. The various women's peace organizations and others made significant progress in making public opinion a great factor in many of Wilson's decisions during his administration. According to Jane Addams,

Up to the moment of his nomination for a second term our hopes (those of the Woman's Peace Party and the American Union Against Militarism) had gradually shifted to the belief that the President would finally act, not so much from his own preferences or convictions, but from the impact upon him of public opinion, from the momentum of the pressure for Peace, which we were sure the campaign itself would make clear to him.¹³⁰

Wilson himself was very aware of how public opinion could either make or break a politician. In a 1914 letter to a friend, indicated that he knew "for the moment I am approved of and trusted by the party and the country and am popular. But I am not

¹²⁸ John Whiteclay Chambers III, *The Eagle and the Dove: The American Peace Movement and United States Foreign Policy, 1900-1922*, introductory essay (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991), li.

¹²⁹ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 78.

¹³⁰ Jane Addams, *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1922), 57-60.

deceived. I know by what tenure a man holds popularity.”¹³¹ With his formulation of the famous Fourteen Points, Wilson was moving away from the direction of public opinion for neutrality and becoming a key figure in the peace negotiations and ultimately the war effort itself as America soon entered the war on behalf of the Allies.

A review of the scholarly literature shows a prevalent opinion that there was much influence upon Wilson’s Fourteen Points by the women’s peace organizations. Allen F. Davis asserts this claim in his biography of Jane Addams.¹³² In her essay on Jane Addams, author Sybil Oldfield also agrees, “almost all of these resolutions [Women’s International Congress] anticipated and even influenced Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points.”¹³³ Charles Chatfield comments upon the role of the peace organizations in influencing public opinion by saying that the peace groups were effective in mobilizing public opinion in order to affect foreign policy.¹³⁴ In discussing the resolutions of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and Wilson, Catherine Foster also felt that the resolutions “were similar to the fourteen points afterwards formulated by [U.S.] President [Woodrow] Wilson.”¹³⁵ Historian Merle Curti also furthered this concept as he felt the peace organizations waged an effective campaign to educate the public at home and abroad to the reasons why a fair and lasting settlement was needed to

¹³¹ Woodrow Wilson, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, Neutrality, 1914-1915*, ed. Ray Stannard Baker, Vol. 5 (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1968) , 94.

¹³² Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1973).

¹³³ Sybil Oldfield, *Women in World Politics*, ed. Francine D’Amico and Peter R. Beckman (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1995) , 160.

¹³⁴ Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971) , 91, 92.

¹³⁵ Catherine Foster, *Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens, GA: University of Athens Press, 1989) , 12.

bring the war to a close.¹³⁶ But another historian posits the idea that Woodrow Wilson himself did not see the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's resolutions as having influenced his Fourteen Points in any way. Leila J. Rupp also writes that the resolutions foreshadowed the Fourteen Points and the proposal for the League of Nations but states that Wilson denied that peace activists influenced his work. Rupp reiterates the concept that the WILPF felt that the concept of a League of Nations had been to quote Emily Greene Balch, "shaped by the women at the Hague."¹³⁷ Rupp notes research by Susan May MacFarland entitled, "Anti-War Women: The Role of the Feminist-Pacifist-Internationalist Movement in American Foreign Policy and International Relations, 1898-1930."¹³⁸ MacFarland cites the work of an unnamed Swarthmore College student who in the 1950s, argued that there were many similarities of the Hague Resolutions, the Fourteen Points, and the League of Nations Covenant. MacFarland, however, believes the women had an impact on U.S. foreign policy but not on Wilson or the Versailles treaty.¹³⁹ In discussing the work of Anne Wiltsher¹⁴⁰ who suggested that the women pacifists did influence Wilson, Rupp noted that she does so "without providing evidence."¹⁴¹ Rupp's reporting of Wilson's denial of the women's influence certainly represents the view of a minority of historians. It is of interest however, that Rupp further discusses the fact that the women although having come up

¹³⁶ Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971) , 240.

¹³⁷ Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 210, 211.

¹³⁸ Susan May MacFarland, "Anti-War Women: The Role of the Feminist-Pacifist-Internationalist Movement in American Foreign Policy and International Relations, 1898-1930," University of Oklahoma, 1990.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 292.

¹⁴⁰ Ann Wiltsher, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of The Great War* (London, UK: Pandora Press, 1985) , 192.

¹⁴¹ Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 292. To her credit, it must be noted that Anne Wiltsher is not a trained historian but rather, a freelance writer.

with the resolutions for peace, were neither invited nor allowed to have a place at the peace table at the end of the conflict.

The similarity between the proposals of the women's peace organizations and Wilson's Fourteen Points makes a case for the conclusion that there was influence by the women peace activists. It is a fact that Wilson was aware of the Woman's Peace Party resolutions that had been adopted in 1915 as he personally received a copy and discussed them with Jane Addams.¹⁴² Emily Greene Balch had an active part in the drafting of resolutions and had published her ideas for peace in *Approaches to the Great Settlement* in January 1918. This was the same month Wilson introduced his ideas for the Fourteen Points to the American Congress. The acceptance of the influence of the women's resolutions are still visible today as noted in Phyllis Lee Levin's work "Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House."¹⁴³ In her study, Levin comments regarding the origination of Wilson's Fourteen Points: "the concept and philosophy of a League of Nations, far from originating with Wilson, was credited to many sources, including an international women's congress that had met at The Hague under the presidency of the social worker Jane Addams in 1917."¹⁴⁴

The journal for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Pax International*, said of Emily Greene Balch's involvement with the work on the resolutions of the Women's International Congress, "A member of the U.S. A. Delegation to the first Hague Congress in 1915, she took an active part in drafting the Resolutions which formed the basis of the Congress discussions, and which time has

¹⁴² Woodrow Wilson letter to Jane Addams, 15 January 1915, *WPP Papers*, reel 2, box 2, folder 7.

¹⁴³ Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith And Woodrow: The Wilson White House*, (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2001)

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

proved to have been so amazingly wise and far sighted.”¹⁴⁵ The WILPF also mentioned Balch’s work on the resolutions and their influence on Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points. The women also decided to set a conference with neutral nations to offer continuous mediation to the belligerents in the hope of stopping bloodshed. This was considered by the WILPF to have been a precursor to the formation of the League of Nations.¹⁴⁶

The WILPF was not alone in suggesting that proposals of the Women’s International Congress had influenced Wilson; the 1947 *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* came to the same conclusion, “The proposals of the Congress attracted the attention of President Wilson, whose later formulation of his famous Fourteen Points had much in common with them.”¹⁴⁷ The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission sponsored a play written by Kit Cassal on 27 April 1947 that retold the story of the Women’s International Congress’ resolutions of 1915. In her work, Cassal has the characters of Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch recounting the drafting of the proposals by the writing committee and their acceptance by the international women. As “Emily” announced regarding the proposals “These were only a few...and remember this was in 1915...four years before the League of Nations was proposed by world statesmen...three months after she [Jane Addams] had presented them to President Wilson ...”¹⁴⁸ “President Wilson” then went into a speech about how the resolutions had been brought to his attention by the women’s group. It was after this that the character of “President Wilson” quoted his famous words about the proposals being the best formulation put out by anyone, and the character of “Emily”

¹⁴⁵ “Pax International”, 17 December 1936, *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 2, folder 10.

¹⁴⁶ Emily Greene Balch WILPF information release, 1946, *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 2, folder 4.

¹⁴⁷ “Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin,” 1947, *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 2, folder 10.

proudly informed the audience, “Many of those resolutions appeared in Wilson’s famous fourteen points...”¹⁴⁹ The play continued with the work of the women as they traveled throughout Europe as they met with officials of both neutral and belligerent governments in an attempt to negotiate a peaceful settlement to World War I.

Such acknowledgement for her work in the field of peace was most likely of comfort to Emily Greene Balch who had paid a high price for her ideals as neutrality and pacifism were not well accepted by the general public during the war. Balch had to deal with negative publicity for her actions as exemplified in an editorial from the NY *Evening Sun*, dated 31 May 1917, which declared that pacifist meetings were:

the scenes of rioting and great disorder, in spite of the useless denial of this fact by Professor Emily Greene Balch of Wellesley College, who is a member of the ‘Committee’ which is now arranging for such a meeting in Madison Square Garden this Thursday night. . . . Professor Balch remarked to a reporter casually that she ‘expects no trouble’ at Thursday’s meeting.¹⁵⁰

In a *New York Times* newspaper article entitled, “Pacifists Disagree on War Referendum,” Balch was linked with what the paper called pacifists fighting an “oral war” over the war referendum. Highly unfavorable, the story discussed the bitter debate over what action to take against America’s entry into the war. Emily Greene Balch was quoted:

It seems that people who believe in peace believe in all sorts of things. There are those who believe in peace all the way from being ready to fight now and keep peace later, to those who won’t fight for any reason. It’s about time we got together on some middle program.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Kit Cassal, Philadelphia Fellowship Commission play, 27 April 1947, *EGB Papers*, Series I, reel 2, box 3, folder 4.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ “To-Night’s Pacifist Meeting,” *New York Evening Sun*, 31 May 1917.

¹⁵¹ “Pacifists Disagree On War Referendum,” *The New York Times*, 23 February 1917, p. 2.

Apparently upset with the negative publicity that Balch received for her pacifist work and afraid of its impact upon Wellesley College, the board of trustees voted not to reappoint her to her former position as Professor of Political Economy and Political Science in 1919, a full six months after the end of World War I, but during of time of public campaigns against those were not members of the “mainstream” political process.¹⁵²

In hopes of not embarrassing Wellesley College with her peace work, Emily Greene Balch had applied for and was granted an unpaid leave of absence from Wellesley College during the 1917-1918 academic year to work with the Woman’s Peace Party. The *Wellesley Affairs* magazine in June 1919 reported that, “The appointment of Miss Emily Green (sic) Balch as Professor of Political Economy and Political Science had expired in 1918, and consideration of her appointment had, by a vote of the Trustees, been postponed.” At a Wellesley Board of Trustees meeting in March, 1919 a motion was taken to vote on the question of Balch’s reappointment but a small majority voted it down.¹⁵³

Balch revealed her disappointment at the outcome by writing “This left me at fifty two with my professional life cut short and no particular prospects.”¹⁵⁴ She had noted previously in her journal entry of 31 March 1918 that the Trustees at Wellesley had been questioning her ‘loyalty.’ In an attempt to explain her position, Balch had drafted a statement to Wellesley President Ellen Pendleton in which she explained her pacifist position against the war.

In the first place I am entirely in sympathy with the purposes of our country in the war as expressed by the President. I rejoice in his international leadership and am thankful that such a leader has been raised up to us. ... I could desire nothing more

¹⁵² Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 254.

¹⁵³ “Wellesley Affairs,” June 1919, *EGB Papers*, Series I, reel 2, box 3, folder 2.

¹⁵⁴ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 79.

than also to give myself wholly in trying to bring about a better world. ... In such a time when love of country is conscious as never before, and when patriotism has such special claims upon us all, it is a very painful thing to be obliged to forego, in any degree, full inner cooperation with the methods by which the ends for which we are all working are being sought. Nevertheless I believe so deeply that they way of war is not the way of Christianity, I find it so impossible to reconcile war with the truth of Jesus' teachings, that even now I am obliged to give up the happiness of full and unquestioning cooperation where the choice is mine to make.¹⁵⁵

She assured President Pendleton that, "I have no temptation to dampen patriotism even in forms that I could not personally adopt nor to carry on any propaganda for my own peculiar views in connection, direct or indirect, with my teaching." In an effort to assure all involved what her primary purpose was she noted, "It means that at Wellesley or elsewhere I desire to do all that in me lies toward making the world safe for democracy by whatever phrase we may choose to express our national purpose at its purest, to work for honest and vigorous thinking, self control and above all for service."¹⁵⁶ It is worthy of note that Balch had not been accused by anyone, either student or colleague, of attempting to introduce her personal views into the school curriculum.

Emily Greene Balch further noted in her 1918 letter that there were those in the press who attempted to make her association with the peace organizations appear to be part of the radical movement against the war:

I want to say something about my affiliation with various peace organizations—that is, organizations devoted to the cause of ultimate peace and justice in an organized world such as this country is striving for. Of several of these I am an official in one way or another, but in the one that has been especially criticized, the People's Council,¹⁵⁷ I do not now hold any office. The newspapers

¹⁵⁵ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 247.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ According to author David M. Kennedy in his book, *The First World War and American Society* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980), the People's Council was created when the anti-war socialists joined forces with the Emergency Peace Federation, to whom Balch belonged, to form the People's Council for America For Democracy and Peace. Kennedy comments on page 28 that, "The Council hoped to commit American workers to the recently announced peace program of the Russian Bolsheviks, which called for an immediate negotiated settlement without annexation, indemnities, or vindictive features of any kind."

have spread much misunderstanding of the purposes and character of this organization. It has never been a 'stop the war' party nor followed an anti-government policy. The federal Department of Justice, which keeps, I believe, in close touch with the doings of all peace organizations, has never, so far as I know, had any criticism to make of its activities.¹⁵⁸

After twenty-one years of service at Wellesley, she was now without a job. Of this period in her life she later wrote, "much as I grieved that the well known liberality of Wellesley College should have been overstrained by me, I could not be surprised when, after much discussion and much friendly advocacy of my reappointment, the trustees decided against it."¹⁵⁹ The decision not to renew was close as it only passed by two votes, the President and all alumnae being in favor of reappointment.¹⁶⁰ Her colleagues were outraged and published a tribute to Balch in the college alumnae newsletter. It expressed their esteem for her as an economist, teacher and woman as well as the international reputation that she had received for her scholarship and published works. Mentioning that while "differing from her in opinions or action," they also acknowledged that they "have respected her essential fair mindedness, her courageous and conscientious regard for truth." In closing the statement read, "We feel that we have had in our midst a person of rare distinction and nobility."¹⁶¹ Colleagues and supporters brought up a motion in March 1919, to consider her reappointment at Wellesley but it was not passed.

Emily Greene Balch was encouraged to fight the decision by many of her friends and colleagues, as she would not receive a pension from Wellesley.¹⁶² But not wanting to create further embarrassment for Wellesley College or herself, Balch chose to accept the trustees' decision and move on with her life. Even without a prospective means of

¹⁵⁸ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*., 248, 249.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 79.

¹⁶⁰ John Herman Randall, Jr., *EGB Papers*, reel 1, box 3.

¹⁶¹ "The Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly," *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 1, box 3.

support, Emily Greene Balch would not be idle for long as her release from Wellesley opened up an opportunity to work for international peace in the post war era on behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Emily Greene Balch's work on behalf of the women's peace organizations towards finding a solution for international peace took her to Europe, first as a delegate to The Hague and later as a representative for the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace to the neutral nations. Balch thought highly of her peace work and attempted to keep it separate from her teaching duties at Wellesley College through the use of sabbaticals and unpaid time off. Ultimately, Emily Greene Balch paid a high price for ideals as she lost her position at Wellesley College, but true to her nature, she viewed her experience in teaching as a positive attribute for future activity in the international peace movement.

¹⁶² Randall, *Beyond Nationalism*, 17.

Chapter Three

“War puts back liberty, destroys democracy, shames Christianity.” EGB, 1916

After the refusal of the Wellesley Board of Trustees to renew her appointment in 1918 as head of the department of Political Economy and Political and Social Science, Emily Greene Balch found herself unemployed. Close friend Oswald Garrison Villard, who had encouraged Balch to fight to retain her teaching position at Wellesley, extended the offer of a position on the editorial staff of *The Nation* as a writer.¹⁶³ Balch accepted and worked primarily on a supplement that dealt with international issues. Villard commented about Balch’s work at the magazine saying, “I found her intuition extraordinary, her judgment remarkable in its accuracy, and her scholarly attainments

¹⁶³ WILPF press release, 3 August 1937, *EGB Papers*, series I, reel 2, box 3, folder 3.

surprising at all times.”¹⁶⁴ Villard noticed Balch’s talents when she wrote a lead article on the Austria-Hungarian Empire’s sudden collapse just before the paper’s two-hour print deadline. As Balch commented

From studies which I had made on the spot for my book *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens*, I knew well the component parts of that conglomerate empire. I was especially interested in the effect of the change on the nationalities, but I was blind, as were the responsible statesmen who framed the peace settlement, to the fact that, monstrous as the Hapsburg empire might appear politically, it was a functioning economic organism, and that to tear it apart without further concern was to create chaos and entail the hideous suffering of the post-war years, especially in Vienna.¹⁶⁵

Balch, through her work at *The Nation*, was able to keep in touch with the current events taking place in post war Europe as she prepared to attend the second Hague Congress in Zurich, Switzerland during May of 1919. But Balch was forced to turn her attention in January 1919 to a new problem that was of her own government’s making.

On 24 January 1919, *The New York Times* published a list of what were called “the most prominent of the so-called pacifist and radical movements in this country.”¹⁶⁶ The article noted that “the Senate Committee investigating German propaganda [sic] in the United States during the war” had come up with a number of individuals who had “been recorded as active in movements which did not help the United States when the country was fighting the Central Powers.”¹⁶⁷ Included in this list of sixty-two men and women was Emily Greene Balch, as well as many of her friends and coworkers, such as Jane Addams, Vida Scudder (a Wellesley College professor), and Sophonsiba P. Breckenridge. Each of the sixty-two listed had a small biographical sketch also published

¹⁶⁴ Oswald Garrison Villard as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 261.

¹⁶⁵ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 80.

¹⁶⁶ “Senate Committee Lists Americans As Pacifists,” *The New York Times*, 25 January 1919, p.4.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

along with their name and profession.¹⁶⁸ Balch's biography noted that she had studied with German professors as well as her membership in the various peace committees and organizations. A sense of just how these individuals felt about the unfavorable publicity regarding their pacifism during the First World War is apparent in Jane Addams' comments about being vilified in the press along with the common criminal. Addams wrote, "'we also shared a certain daily experience with the criminal, for the surveillance of secret service men and the effort of military intelligence to 'get something on us' was not psychologically unlike the shadowing of detectives and the readiness of the police to arrest him.'"¹⁶⁹ Luckily for both Balch and Addams, they were able to escape the focus in the American press and Senate investigation as they traveled to Europe to attend the second Hague International Congress of Women.¹⁷⁰

The decision to hold a second congress had been agreed upon back in 1915, when those attending the first congress had decided to hold a second after the end of World War I. The group of American delegates set sail on 9 April 1919 and included Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, Florence Kelley, Lucia Ames Mead, Alice Hamilton, Lillian Wald, and Jeanette Rankin, the latter of whose comments against America's entry into the war were well known and respected by her peers.

Her fellow delegates held Emily Greene Balch in high regard as indicated in a letter by Alice Hamilton to her friend Mary Rozet Smith, "really there are only three who count, Jane Addams, Mrs. Kelley and Emily Balch. I like her [Emily Balch] ever so

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Emily Greene Balch's read: "Professor Emily Greene Balch, economist, studied with Professors Schmoller and Wagner; former Professor Political Economy, Wellesley College; American Neutral Conference Committee, People's Council of America, Liberty Defense Union, Woman's Peace Party of New York City, Emergency Peace Federation, American Union Against Militarism, Collegiate International league, Intercollegiate Society.

¹⁶⁹ Jane Addams as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 264.

much and she certainly knows a lot.”¹⁷¹ Upon meeting many of their old friends who had suffered much as a result of the war, Balch was moved to write about how those who had been spared the ravages of war were aghast at the desolation and destruction that had been caused by the conflict.¹⁷² In an attempt to bring attention to the resulting famine being caused by the blockade against the former Central Powers, the Zurich Congress passed a resolution for a “lifting of the blockade, for inter-allied machinery to provide relief, and if necessary, for the food rationing in every country so that the starving might be fed.”¹⁷³ Important in this statement was the fact that none of the women from the blockaded countries participated in the discussions involving the adoption of this resolution. Such non-participation by these women would later lead to the policy against the advocacy of special interests by a speaker for her own country.¹⁷⁴ This second Hague Congress was held the same week as the Paris Peace Conference at Versailles where the terms of the peace treaty were revealed to the defeated countries. All of the women were horrified with the content of the Versailles Treaty, especially the peace terms and reparations demanded by the victors. The congress telegraphed their resolution in full to President Wilson, who was in Paris for the Versailles Conference. His reply was as follows, “Your message appeals to both my head and my heart, and I hope most sincerely that ways might be found, though the present outlook is extremely unpromising, because of infinite practical difficulties.”¹⁷⁵ There would be no formal solution to the suffering of the European people in the postwar era.

¹⁷⁰ This Second International Congress of Women is also known as the Zurich Congress and the Second Hague Congress.

¹⁷¹ Dr. Alice Hamilton as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 262.

¹⁷² Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 265.

¹⁷³ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 266.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹⁷⁵ Woodrow Wilson as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 267.

While at Zurich, the women officially adopted the name Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).¹⁷⁶ "Freedom" was added because many of the members were concerned with freedom being necessary for peace, as Balch noted that many felt a peace kept in place by oppression and force was evil and would not last. Freedom must be won for all peoples by peaceful means in order to last. This was important to the women as they had personally seen over the past four years that freedom, "the basic condition of personality and growth," could not be maintained without peace.¹⁷⁷

Mercedes M. Randall notes that the Zurich Congress was the first international body to speak out critically of the Covenant of the League of Nations of which Jane Addams had been able to procure a copy in Paris on her way to the congress. While welcoming the Covenant, the women "deplored that in many respects it did not accord with the Fourteen Points, that it contained provisions that would stultify its growth, and omitted others essential to world peace. The statement specified essential provisions which had been omitted and set forth certain changes which it was desirable that the League of Nations should incorporate."¹⁷⁸ On the last day of the Congress Jane Addams was elected international president and Emily Greene Balch was chosen as international secretary-treasurer. The international headquarters would be in Geneva where the League of Nations was also located. The French delegate, Jeanne Melin, had finally arrived the morning of the last day of the Congress and German delegate Lida Gustava Heymann came forward to greet her with the following words:

¹⁷⁶ WILPF memo dated 28 April 1919, *WPP Papers*, Series A, reel 2, box 2, folder 7.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 271, 272.

A German woman gives her hand to a French woman, and says in the name of the German Delegation, that we hope that we women can build a bridge from Germany to France and from France to Germany, and that in the future we may be able to make good the wrongdoing of men.¹⁷⁹

As historian Marie Louise Degen points out, it was Emily Greene Balch who made the incident unforgettable. After Jeanne Melin's speech, Balch stood, raised her hand, and invited all in attendance to join her in pledging themselves to work with "everything in their power towards the ending of war and the coming of peace."¹⁸⁰ There was not a woman left seated in the audience. One member in attendance commented on Emily Greene Balch's gesture saying, "I have never witnessed or imagined so remarkable an affirmation. Such scenes can, of course, be staged, but only intense feeling can cause them to occur spontaneously as this did."¹⁸¹ Interesting enough, in her account of the previous scene at The Hague, Leila J. Rupp does not report the actions of Emily Greene Balch bringing a memorable end to the meeting when reporting of the events of this day.¹⁸²

During the First World War, Emily Green Balch had come face to face with issues that were to become important areas of focus in her peace work. These included universal disarmament, displaced refugees, racial equality, religious freedom, especially for Jews, deportations, and the fate of conscientious objectors. The Zurich Congress of Women had passed resolutions regarding these issues and worked to bring such matters to the attention of the League of Nations and the public in general. One particular issue, that of the conscientious objector, particularly affected Balch. In regard to this issue

¹⁷⁸ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 270.

¹⁷⁹ Lida Gustava Heymann as quoted by Degen, *History*, 233.

¹⁸⁰ Degen, *History*, 234.

¹⁸¹ Helena Swanwick as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 276.

¹⁸² Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 118.

Balch wrote: “I not only feel profound respect and gratitude toward conscientious objectors but I believe that they have done an enormous service to the cause of both peace and freedom of conscience and in protest against the state worship of the present day.”¹⁸³ As America had entered World War I, peace advocates had found themselves fighting such concepts as the Espionage Act, conscription, military training for school children, compulsory military training, and the civil rights of minorities. This included work to protect the conscientious objector’s rights not to become involved in the war as indicated in a letter by Emily Greene Balch to Bishop Richard Cooke in August 1917. In her letter, Balch attempts to explain the conscientious objector’s reasoning for not engaging in war. This writing was a response to the Bishop’s criticism of those who refused to share in the “cost of preserving our heritage of free institutions, won and maintained by war.” Balch explained the stance of the conscientious objector as being one who believed that war was not an advantage to the people nor were the things bequeathed by our forefathers due to war, maintained by war and all that the actions war involve. Balch likened war to people who insist on putting out burning oil with water, causing the fire to spread. Those who poured the water being ones who cannot understand that their actions are what have made the matter worse. She further commented on the role of the conscientious objector as being “a harder thing than the men who submit to the pressure of public opinion and go to war. ... He stands lonely against the overwhelming rush of his fellow countrymen to war. ... He faces not only disgrace but torture (for imprisonment in many American prisons is today a literal bodily torture) and the possibility of his own death as a mutineer.”¹⁸⁴ Balch would find her

¹⁸³ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 276.

¹⁸⁴ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 101.

services needed in this area once again during the Second World War when she attempted to help those who chose not to participate in that struggle among nations.

Emily Greene Balch's work on behalf of conscientious objectors also allowed her a chance to examine her own feelings regarding the relationship between religion and war. While in Geneva working for the WILPF, Balch came to terms with her own personal religious beliefs. Although she had been raised as a Puritan Unitarian, Balch came to identify with the religious teachings of the Society of Friends or Quakers, especially their pacifism. Emily Greene Balch explained why she chose in 1921 to become a member of the English Society of Friends as neither their distaste of war nor ideas for social reform, "but the dynamic force of the active love through which their religion was expressing itself in multifarious ways, both during and after the war."¹⁸⁵ Pacifism had become a delicate issue within the peace organizations. Some such as Fanny Garrison Villard wished for absolute pacifism; the total renouncement of war, while others had various ideas on what pacifism should mean.¹⁸⁶ Rifts began to appear and various splinter groups formed according to the members' personal beliefs on the subject. Emily Greene Balch remained an absolute pacifist in the post World War I period. Unfortunately for the majority of members, there was to be no real peace even within their own organizations.

Emily Greene Balch remained as the WILPF's secretary-treasurer in Geneva from May 1919 until the fall of 1922 when, due to poor health, she chose to resign.¹⁸⁷ Such friends aided Balch monetarily as Helen Cheever, who had been upset with Balch's loss of her pension when she was dismissed from Wellesley College. The financially sound

¹⁸⁵ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 291.

¹⁸⁶ Foster, *Women*, 38.

¹⁸⁷ Undated WILPF memo regarding Balch's curriculum vitae, *EGB Papers*, Series I, box 3, folder 3.

Cheever provided Balch with a yearly sum of money to compensate for the loss.¹⁸⁸ With her financial status somewhat assured, Balch continued to travel and work on behalf of the WILPF in the area of internationalism by working for the Fourth Congress of the WILPF. The focus of the congress, held in Washington, D.C. in 1924, was “An New International Order.”¹⁸⁹ Balch wrote much about the concept of international economics and the international relation between business and power politics in a report entitled, “Economic Aspects of a New International Order.”¹⁹⁰ In her analysis, Balch identified the stage of “economic imperialism” that the Western world had reached by the year 1924. Balch foresaw a new phase of development of economic independence that she termed “the phase of internationalism in business and finance.”¹⁹¹ Three special forms were recognized: first, where an enterprise is large enough to have international markets; secondly, where supply sources are found in other countries; and third, where ownership of company stocks has reached the international community. Emily Greene Balch reasoned that many would think that such internationalism of business might bring about peace, but she noted the tendencies for the opposite to occur: “What I believe to be the dangerous peculiarity in the situation is the alliance between business in pursuit of profit, and the nationalist policies in pursuit of power.”¹⁹² Balch could see the seriousness of the danger as she commented further that a danger point was reached when businesses that dealt with war materials or profited by war found that they could directly affect their sales by promoting or encouraging international conflict. Such danger, Balch noted, was exemplified by the actions of Imperial Germany before World War I: “The economic

¹⁸⁸ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 298.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 112.

alliance between governments and business where each hand washes the other, is especially connected in our minds with the policy of the German Imperial Government, which the German people have since repudiated.”¹⁹³ Therefore the newer trend towards internationalization of business was something that needed to be closely watched.

Emily Greene Balch also identified the problems brought about regarding finance on an international scale. She identified the tendency to pursue profit and power by those who made up what she called the “Unholy Alliance” with the aim at national aggrandizement and base their power upon armed force. Balch termed what she called “the only way to a New Economic Order”¹⁹⁴ as being brought about by new orientation and political methods. Balch further advocated for international control of waterways, a system of international currency, and the concept of an “international allotment” for scarce raw materials and supplies.¹⁹⁵ Emily Greene Balch proposed all three of these concepts as a response to prevent the conditions of destruction, desolation, and starvation she personally had witnessed in visiting post-war Europe.

The wartime attitudes were still prevalent in the American press as indicated by the hostility and opposition given in the coverage of the congress. Emily Greene Balch wrote about the newspapers’ fear regarding the concept of internationalism, “Internationalism was then suspect, as such, and military gentlemen, especially, were offended by statements made in the Congress in regard to chemical warfare.”¹⁹⁶ Balch editorialized in the WILPF’s newspaper, *Pax International*, about the use of poison gas as introduced during the First World War as she felt the use of such technology would

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 113.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 115.

involve financial interest on the part of companies and therefore make it harder to prevent war. She saw governments using this new instrument of war, which would be a means of attack from which there was no real defense. Balch worried that the use of such weapons would be upon the masses of helpless people who could be easily targeted against by those who possessed them.¹⁹⁷ There would be a need for international cooperation to prevent the reoccurrence of such horrors as poison gas. Balch realized that there would be no chance for a New International Order while these things remained.¹⁹⁸

International issues had also kept Emily Greene Balch busy as part of her duties for the WILPF. In 1925, the WILPF International Executive Committee had been asked by some of its Haitian members to look into conditions in their country.¹⁹⁹ A committee of six individuals: two WILPF representatives, two women, a professor of economics representing the Foreign Service Committee of the Society of Friends, and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation were chosen to investigate the situation in Haiti. The United States Marines had occupied Haiti since 1915 when President Woodrow Wilson had sent them into the country after attempts by citizens to revolt against the pro-American government of President Guillaume Sam.²⁰⁰ Sam had been put into power during the administration of former President William Howard Taft in order to protect American investments in Haiti under the concept of “dollar diplomacy,” through which American investors were encouraged to prop up the finances of shaky foreign Caribbean

¹⁹⁶ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 300.

¹⁹⁷ Emily Greene Balch, *Pax International*, March 1927, Vol. II, No. 5.

¹⁹⁸ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 115.

¹⁹⁹ Emily Greene Balch, editor, Paul H. Douglas, Addie Hunton, Charlotte Atwood, Zonia Baber, and Grace D. Watson, *Occupied Haiti; Being the report of a Committee of Six disinterested Americans representing organizations exclusively American, who, having personally studied conditions in Haiti in 1926, favor the restoration of the Independence of the Negro Republic* (New York, NY: Negro Universities Press, 1969), v.

²⁰⁰ Douglas, *Occupied Haiti*, 19.

governments. Wilson had publicly denounced the foreign policy practice of his predecessor but had sent the Marines into Haiti for the purpose of defending the country and they remained until 1924.

The WILPF committee went to Haiti in February 1926 and wrote about their findings in a book entitled “Occupied Haiti,” which was edited by Emily Greene Balch and published in 1927.²⁰¹ This work was a compilation of the committee’s observations and recommendations regarding the current occupation by American Marines in Haiti. While investigating the political, economic, financial, health, sanitation, education, public works, judiciary, and civil liberties, this study also examined the ulterior motives for the military occupation—American business dealings with Haiti.²⁰² Economics professor Paul H. Douglas, identified in the chapter entitled, “The Political History of the Occupation,” the fact that it was economic friction between the American and Haitian governments that led to the eventual occupation of Haiti.²⁰³ This was due to disputes between the Haitian government and the National Bank of Haiti and the National Railroad of Haiti, both of which were largely financed by American companies. As a result, U.S. Marines were sent to restore order after several attempts at revolution against the Haitian government.

The committee sent by the WILPF concluded their report on Haiti’s occupation with the recommendation that it was “perfectly possible to be a good neighbor and help Haiti to attain health, education, public improvements and public order, by other less drastic, and ultimately more effective methods than military control.”²⁰⁴ They further identified

²⁰¹ Balch, *Occupied Haiti*.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

the military occupation of Haiti as being “an unjustified use of power” and recommended that there be a “restoration of independence and self-government.”²⁰⁵ The American government was slow to act and it was four years later in 1930 when President Herbert Hoover’s official commission returned from its fact-finding mission and adopted recommendations similar to those of the WILPF’s 1927 unofficial findings.²⁰⁶ Emily Greene Balch was still hopeful for the situation in Haiti. As she noted “It is going to take not only patience on our side but a willingness to have things done not in the American way, which we are always sure is best, but in their way, except as we can convince them that something else will serve them better.”²⁰⁷ It appears in the previous statement that Balch was still embracing nationalism with her words, but most likely she was alluding to the fact that Haiti at that time had no formal plan of its own for democratic self government.

Emily Greene Balch remained optimistic about the future with the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact in August 1928. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was the result of a proposal by French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand to American Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, for a mutual agreement that the two countries would never declare war on one another. The document declared that the signers would “condemn recourse to war” and “renounce it [war] as an instrument of national policy.”²⁰⁸ Although sixty-two countries signed the pact, all reserved the right to self-defense if needed. For example, the U.S. Senate included a reservation declaring the Monroe Doctrine as being necessary

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 305.

²⁰⁷ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 306.

²⁰⁸ George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997), 4th edition, 885.

to American self-defense.²⁰⁹ Balch was aware of the limitations of such an international pact, yet she lauded Kellogg-Briand as the first to call for an outlawry against war, even with its flaws and shortcomings. Therefore, Balch took it upon herself to make a series of speaking trips in the summer of 1929 through England and Wales to urge for its ratification.²¹⁰

Emily Greene Balch was also interested in working on behalf of issues that arose in the aftermath of World War I and continued after World War II. During the period from 1931 through 1938, Balch wrote and published proposals on various subjects that affected humanity.²¹¹ Balch had a wide interest in the changing world around her and spent much of her time writing and analyzing the events that were unfolding around her while offering solutions to the problems.

One area important to Emily Greene Balch was finding a remedy for the economic hardships that were suffered in the post war period by many of the international peoples. As Balch noted in a draft report on Economic Reconstruction for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in September of 1936, it was economics and politics that were entwined in one vicious circle.²¹² National economic policies increased political tension, which in turn induced preparation for war.²¹³ Within this report, Emily Greene Balch recognized two main causes of problems that contributed to the economic

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Randall, *Beyond Nationalism*, xxvii

²¹¹ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 330. A list of Balch's work is as follows: Disarmament, 1932; Internationalization of Aviation, 1932; Manchuria, 1931, 1932; An Economic Conference (sent to all governments by the League of Nations), 1933; Revision of Treaties, 1933; The Political Situation in Europe, 1935 (an analysis); Reform of the League of Nations, 1936; Economic Reconstruction, 1936; A Mediated Spain, 1937; Internationalization of the Mediterranean, 1937; Neutrality and Collective Security, 1938 (an analysis).

²¹² Emily Greene Balch, "Economic Remedies for Political Unrest: Draft Report on Economic Reconstruction," International Consultative Group for Peace and Disarmament, September 1935, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, (hereafter known as SCPC), DG 6, Series IV, Box 35.

difficulties in post war Europe. She identified these as commercial (foreign trade) and monetary. Foreign trade dealt with raw materials which Balch felt should be easily accessible on equal terms to all wishing to purchase them. Balch's ideas on desirable monetary concepts involved "Money stable in purchasing power and acceptable at the same rate everywhere; Money systems that permit of [sic] payments between countries without restrictions; Much to be desired also is an international currency or other easily usable medium of international exchange."²¹⁴ The economic conditions in post war Europe also stimulated discussion on the concept of disarmament amongst the peace activists as the two problems had a common connection.

Emily Greene Balch belonged to a number of groups devoted to worldwide disarmament. One example is the Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations that met in Geneva on 2 May 1935.²¹⁵ Another organization in which Balch had membership was a committee that was initiated by the WILPF, "The People's Mandate To Governments To End War Committee For Western Hemisphere and Far East."²¹⁶ This Mandate was to be presented to the League of Nations, the World Disarmament Conference, and to the Permanent and temporary League Commissions in September of 1936. Emily Greene Balch was actively involved in this committee; she had been appointed as a sort of "liaison officer between the 2 committees (United States

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ "Disarmament Committee of The Women's International Organizations minutes", 2 May, 1935, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 36. This was an international committee of women from such organizations as the International Council of Women, International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, WILPF, International Federation of University Women, World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, Ligue des Femmes Juives (League of Jewish Women), and World's Young Women's Christian Association.

²¹⁶ The People's Mandate Committee List, 1935, SCPC, DG 109, Series A, Box 1. Known as "The People's Mandate" for short, this group's objective was to secure a Mandate from the people, which would

and Europe), in the sense of acting as an arbiter when differences of opinion exists.”²¹⁷

By January of 1936, the WILPF had distanced itself totally from the People’s Mandate, yet Balch remained involved with both.²¹⁸

Emily Greene Balch also was keenly interested in those displaced refugees who had lost so much during the World Wars, especially World War II. The WILPF had a committee that dealt with those refugees who were now considered “stateless” or without permanent citizenship in a country. In a “Proposal of the Stateless Commission” submitted by Balch and a Mrs. Meller, three resolutions were presented to the League of Nations regarding stateless individuals. These included a conference of nations to find ways for eliminating statelessness, allowing stateless persons the opportunity to work, and asking the League of Nations to consider holding a Stateless Conference to consider the resolutions of the WILPF on stateless persons.²¹⁹

By the beginning of WW II, Emily Greene Balch became a member of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Many refugees were fleeing Europe with the rise of Adolf Hitler’s Nazi Party and the Fascist parties of Benito Mussolini and Francisco Franco. Balch was a sponsor of the committee, which had author Ernest Hemingway as its president. In a letter from Hemingway regarding the Fourth Annual Conference, Balch was asked to endorse the Conference and send a brief statement to be read to the delegates, observers, and visitors at the session.²²⁰ During the late 1930s a

have power above any petition. Approximately 50,000,000 signatures were to be obtained representing every part of the world-the greatest expression of public opinion for peace that has ever been secured.

²¹⁷ Mabel Vernon, “Report from Mabel Vernon,” 3 October 1935, SCPC, DG 109, Series A, Box 1.

²¹⁸ Hannah Clothier Hull, WILPF letter to Branch Chairmen and Board, 17 August 1936, SCPC, DG 109, Series A, Box 1.

²¹⁹ Emily Greene Balch and Mrs. Meller, “Proposal of the Stateless Commission,” July 1931, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 31.

²²⁰ Ernest Hemingway, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Fourth Annual Conference letter, 7 December 1939, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 45.

wave of anti-immigrant sentiment swept the United States and many Congressional members were introducing bills to limit the number of refugees allowed into the country. Ernest Hemingway and others were attempting to sway public opinion against those political leaders who led the fight to keep “foreign born” refugees immigration quotas low. Using such themes for their conferences as “The Foreign Born in a Democracy,” sponsors such as Emily Greene Balch worked to help educate American citizens to the positive contributions of immigrants to society.²²¹ In an article entitled, “Refugees, Not Slaves,” Balch disputed the widely popular claim that all refugees were illiterate, unskilled workers.²²² While admitting that in the mid to late 1800s many workers were illiterate and unskilled, Balch argued that current statistics on immigration told a different story, where examination of refugees coming into another country showed that the refugees had actually increased employment, not the demand for jobs, while also introducing new and successful enterprises of their own.²²³ Balch ended her article with the question: “What of the refugees now coming to this country as largely as our rigid restrictionist [sic] immigration laws permit?” In response, she pointed out that the new immigrants included “men of worldwide reputation in science, medicine, technology, business, literature, art and music.”²²⁴ Balch concluded her argument by stating that many of these individuals had suffered much already for their convictions while proving themselves defenders of democracy.

The WILPF also sponsored a National Refugee Committee that worked toward a goal of increased immigration quotas to the United States. This committee considered one of

²²¹ American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Fifty National Conference Program, “The Foreign Born in a Democracy,” 29 March 1941, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 45.

²²² Emily Green Balch, “Refugees, Not Slaves,” undated article, DG 6, Series IV, Box 43, file Refugees (3).

²²³ Ibid.

its most important contributions to the cause was the work to “spread the facts” via an educational campaign.²²⁵ In one such report of the National Refugee Committee dated 15 July 1939, Emily Greene Balch was recognized for her work in soliciting sponsors in the United States for German refugee children and lobbying for the passage of the Wagner-Rogers bill to aid the children. The report stated that Balch had “done more work than any other group or individual in this field,” while noting that securing passage of the bill would be impossible as the Senate Immigration Committee had voted to bring in 10, 000 children, but on the regular quota.²²⁶ Emily Greene Balch was recruited, because of her knowledge and experience in writing on Slavic immigration, to assist in lobbying Congress for an increase in the immigration quotas to the United States.

Emily Greene Balch was also a sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which supported the anti-fascists who fought against General Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War. This committee was formed in 1942 in order to extend relief to those Spanish anti-fascists who fled from their homeland to France and Mexico.²²⁷ The Spanish Civil War was considered by this organization to be “extended in the holocaust of World War II, “ with fascism being the “enemy with almost the whole rest of the world, realizing this, united in a common struggle against this great evil.”²²⁸ General Francisco Franco had launched an uprising against the democratically elected Spanish Republic in 1936. By 1939 Franco had soon gained power and established a fascist dictatorship in

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ WILPF National Refugee Committee Report, 15 July 1939, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 45, Folder WIL Refugee: Refugee Committee.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ “Spanish Refugee Appeal, ” The Joint Anti- Fascist Refugee Committee letter, 17 June 1948, SCPC, DG 6, Series IV, Box 44, File Subversive 47-53.

²²⁸ Ibid.

Spain with the help of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini.²²⁹ Balch's membership in this committee is interesting given the fact that this group felt that "we must fight back [against fascism] or be destroyed"²³⁰ yet Balch still considered herself to be a pacifist. Membership in a group holding such a philosophy marked a subtle change in Balch's character in comparison to her absolute pacifist position regarding World War I.

Emily Greene Balch was a Quaker and an avowed absolute pacifist during World War I who worked tirelessly on behalf of conscientious objectors against participation in military service. Balch traveled through Europe on behalf of the Woman's Peace Party and WILPF in order to bring about a mediated peace. During World War II, however, Emily Greene Balch found herself involved in a personal struggle against what she saw as the two evils, that of total world war and Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany.²³¹ Balch saw the First World War as a power struggle between nations that could have been dealt with by diplomacy. But now Emily Greene Balch came to conclude that the Second World War was more than a mere battle between the Allies and the Axis powers, it was now a literal battle between Good and Evil. Balch felt that, in this instance, war was "more preferable to the cruelty and hatefulness of Hitlerism, not alone exemplified in the concentration camps and hideous mistreatment of Jews, but in its whole character and purpose."²³² Balch concluded after the attack on Pearl Harbor that it would be impossible for any government not to retaliate. Balch appeared to have difficulty with her feelings on the matter of this war as she noted that "on one hand I refused to buy war bonds; on the other, I contributed however modestly, to so called Community War Funds, a large

²²⁹ Tindall, *America*, 890.

²³⁰ "Spanish Refugee Appeal," SCPC.

²³¹ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 340.

²³² Ibid.

part of which was devoted to wholly peaceful social aid.”²³³ Such conflicting emotions were not without a price as Balch reported that her actions had cost her the respect of many of her “absolutist” friends.²³⁴

Emily Green Balch was in her late seventies by the end of World War II in 1945. Incapable of active physical participation in the world’s events, Balch continued her work for peace by writing about the problems affecting many as well as suggesting practical solutions for those problems. As a testimony to her long work in the peace movement, many of her friends and co-workers started a campaign to nominate her for the 1946 Nobel Peace Prize. Heading this committee was the well-known scholar and educator, John Dewey. Dewey was instrumental in shaping the process of educational reform in the American public school system and involved in peace work, women’s rights and labor reform movements.²³⁵ In a letter written by Dewey to solicit the necessary backing for Emily Greene Balch’s nomination, he had the following to say regarding her peace work:

She is being nominated by high ranking and influential sponsors both in Europe and America. ... The enclosed sketch gives only the outlines of her life-work in the field of peace and international cooperation. It merely suggests her pre-eminent qualifications, her scholarly approach to international political and economic problems, her statesmanship in proposing realistic and workable solutions. Owing to her constant travels, her knowledge of languages, her active connections with international organizations and her cosmopolitan temperament, her work has been peculiarly international in character, quite transcending national limitations. Because of her unique record of thirty or more years devoted exclusively to pioneering in methods of peace (twenty in closest collaboration with her friend and colleague, Jane Addams, Nobel Peace Prize winner, 1931), she has come to be recognized as the dean of the American peace movement.²³⁶

²³³ Ibid., 341.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Tindall, *America*, 650.

²³⁶ John Dewey to Sir Norman Angell, “Committee to Sponsor Emily Greene Balch for the Nobel Peace Prize,” 21 December 1945, EGB papers, series I, Reel 2, Box 4, Folder 1.

For Emily Greene Balch, the time had come for her personal redemption in the eyes of her fellow peace workers.

Labor Secretary Frances Perkins also wrote a letter of recommendation to the Noble Committee regarding Emily Greene Balch's nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Perkins noted that Balch had done work both on the national and international levels for peace:

She is a woman of first rate intellect and education, and a pioneer in the movement for better social conditions in the United States. I have known her certainly since 1910 and have observed her work on the Minimum Wage Board of the State of Massachusetts, in the Women's Trade Union Legislation of America, and on the Commissions on Immigration Policy. Her scholarly career has been one of distinction. As a full professor of political economy and social science, she has done much to promote among students a knowledge of the social problems out of which political action in modern times has grown. Within the United States, she has done much to promote understanding between the citizens of various radical and national backgrounds. Her book called "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" (1910) is only one of the many efforts in that direction.²³⁷

Some of the other members of the nominating committee were many of Emily Greene Balch's friends and former co-workers: Alice Hamilton, first woman professor of medicine at Harvard University Medical School and fellow member of the WILPF; Elisabeth Kendall, professor of history, Wellesley College; Sophonsiba P. Breckenridge, professor of Social Service, University of Chicago; and Oswald Garrison Villard, former owner and editor of *The Nation*.²³⁸ A sponsor whose support for Balch's nomination for the Nobel Prize received much publicity was that of Mildred McAfee Horton, President of Wellesley College. This sponsorship of Balch was of interest because Horton was a high-ranking naval officer, having been Commander of the WAVES (Women's Corps)

²³⁷ Frances Perkins to the Nobel Committee, 29 December 1945, EGB papers, Series I, Reel 2, Box 4, Folder 1. Perkins referred to Balch as a full professor of political economy and social science, which was interesting given the fact that Balch had not taught for almost thirty years.

during World War II. It also received much attention because this was the same Wellesley College that had not renewed Emily Greene Balch's reappointment as chair of the department of Political Economy and Political Science after the end of World War I in 1919, due to the very same peace work that she was being honored for now.²³⁹

Emily Greene Balch was awarded the 1946 Nobel Peace Prize, the very first time her name had been proposed. Balch shared the prize with John Mott, a Methodist minister who had worked in the creation of the YMCA, the Young Men's Christian Association. In honoring Balch for her achievements at the award ceremony Gunnar Jahn, the Nobel Committee Chairman, gave a speech in which he pointed out why Emily Greene Balch was worthy of the prize. First Jahn reviewed Balch's activities in peace and social justice, which amounted to a period of about sixty years. He noted "she felt the need to both acquire knowledge and pass it on to others if she was to achieve more."²⁴⁰ While discussing Balch's work for peace during and after the two world wars, Jahn commended her for not relaxing her efforts even though the times she lived in often put many obstacles in her path. Emily Greene Balch was credited in the speech for her work with the WILPF regarding the proposals for peace during World War I. Jahn used the example of President Woodrow Wilson's comments regarding the proposals and how many of them later were to be found in his famous Fourteen Points. Emily Greene Balch was further given credit as Jahn stated that although the program was drawn up by the

²³⁸ "List of Sponsors Proposing Emily Greene Balch As Candidate For 1945 Nobel Peace Prize,"

²³⁹ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 420.

²⁴⁰ Gunnar Jahn, "The Nobel Peace Prize for 1946; Emily Greene Balch," in *Nobel e. Museum*, (accessed 4 November 2001); available from <http://www.nobel.se/peace/laureates/1946/press.html>.

conference itself, much of the wealth of knowledge and practical foresight came for Balch herself.²⁴¹

For Emily Greene Balch's tireless efforts on behalf of humanity in the post war periods, Gunnar Jahn cited her work in organizing conferences on such subjects as modern methods of war, opium, the Austrian problems, minority questions, stateless persons and the world economic crisis. Balch was commended for staying in continuous contact with the League of Nations while working in Geneva on major political problems as well as the concept of international cooperation.²⁴² Her work on behalf of the Haitian people and lectures to the League of Nations on the subject of internationalism and isolationism were given as examples of how Emily Greene Balch provided a driving force on issues that affected mankind.

Of special interest was Gunnar Jahn's commentary regarding Emily Greene Balch's changing personal views from that of an absolute pacifist during World War I as the threat of World War II emerged. Jahn explained how the events of those interwar years moved Emily Greene Balch to action as she attacked isolationism and American neutrality legislation, thereby placing herself for the first time in opposition to the accepted opinions of the American branch of the Women's League. And with the coming of war, Balch was no longer among the opponents of America's entry into the conflict as had been the case during the First World War. She had examined herself and found that submission to the evil might mean an end to the hope for peace that she had worked so tirelessly for all of her life. Therefore Balch had chosen what she considered

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

the lesser of two evils.²⁴³ Balch also was noted for more than her pacifism, as she drafted proposals for peace terms that were built on the view that the world would have to be refashioned after such an international conflict.

Gunnar Jahn concluded his speech with the fact that Emily Greene Balch was not well known to the public as she had never been one to seek the limelight. But Balch was one who deserved homage and praise for her lifelong indefatigable work for peace. “She has taught us that the reality we seek must be earned by hard and unrelenting toil in the world in which we live, but she has taught us more: that exhaustion is unknown and defeat only gives fresh courage to the man whose soul is fired by the sacred flame.”²⁴⁴

Emily Greene Balch was unable to attend the award ceremony in Oslo in December 1946 because she was ill with bronchitis. Typical of Balch, she gave away the majority of her share of the prize money which totaled \$17, 000. The WILPF received \$10, 000 and \$5,000 was donated for the salary of a European colleague who had sacrificed much in order to continue working for the WILPF. Balch only allowed herself \$2, 000 in order to pay her expenses for the trip to Oslo and to help pay for secretarial help in her work for peace.²⁴⁵ It was not until the spring of 1947 that Balch was physically well enough at age eighty to go to Oslo and give the customary lecture expected of Nobel laureates.

In her Nobel Prize speech, “Toward Humanity or Beyond Nationalism,” Emily Greene Balch touched upon two different themes: Part One, “ The Slow Growth Toward a World Community,” which discussed the benefits of the concept of internationalism over nationalism; and Part Two entitled, “ The Many-Sided Approach to World Organization: Private, Functional, Governmental,” which explained the need to secure peace by

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

creating political organizations that actually expressed the will of all men.²⁴⁶ Balch stressed the fundamental concepts of internationalism and the importance of having political organizations, such as the former League of Nations and the new United Nations, which brought the grievances of the people to the world's attention. After delivering her speech in several European locations, Emily Greene Balch returned home to Massachusetts where she continued to keep up a large correspondence devoted to attaining world peace. The awarding of the Nobel Prize proved to be a great intellectual stimulus and incentive to continue working toward peace under the trying conditions of her ninth decade as Balch continued to write on behalf of peace.²⁴⁷ Confined to a nursing home by the infirmities of old age, Emily Greene Balch died one week after her ninety-fourth birthday. In one of her last writings, Balch commented on her impending death:

I am bringing my days to a close in a world still hag-ridden by the thought of war, and it is not given to us in this new atomic world to know how things will turn out. But when I reflect on the enormous changes that I have seen myself and the amazing resiliency and resourcefulness of mankind, how can I fail to be of good courage?²⁴⁸

Emily Greene Balch spent the majority of her life working on behalf of others in the quest for peace and social justice. While not wishing to draw undue attention to herself, she was able to influence and make changes in the world through her work with such organizations as the WILPF. Of the world's problems that remained after her death Emily Greene Balch wrote, "The hardest thing of all is left—the conquest not of time and space but of ourselves, of our stupidity and inertia, of our greediness and touchiness, of

²⁴⁵ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 424.

²⁴⁶ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, 130, 131.

²⁴⁷ Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 428.

²⁴⁸ Balch as quoted by Randall, *Improper Bostonian*, 445.

our fear and intolerant dogmatism.”²⁴⁹ Even at her earthly end, Emily Greene Balch knew that this was just the beginning for her fellow mankind in the quest for a true and permanent peace through out the world.

Conclusion

An examination of Emily Greene Balch’s work allows us to come to a clearer understanding of the imprint that she made during her lifetime on the international and national social consciousness in the areas of peace and social justice. From her early childhood, where her parents’ views on such subjects as abolition, peace, social justice, and education allowed Balch an opportunity to explore the outside world, to her studies in college in the fields of sociology and economy, Emily Greene Balch had a remarkable awareness of world conditions and their impact upon mankind.

Emily Greene Balch’s education was in itself a major breakthrough for a woman in the late 19th century. After acceptance at Bryn Mawr she excelled academically, receiving a scholarship to do post graduate study in Europe with the leading sociologists

²⁴⁹ Balch, *Beyond Nationalism*, xiii.

and economists of the day. It was during her studies in France and Germany that Balch came into contact with the concept of socialism and was able to witness personally one of the historic early congresses of the International Socialist movement. Balch was able to put these experiences to use in her own environment through her work in Boston's Denison House settlement and through her participation in the numerous labor and social organizations such as the Women's Trade Union League, Consumer's League, Massachusetts Commission on Immigration and Industrial Education and the American Federation of Labor. But Emily Greene Balch gradually became dissatisfied with her philanthropic efforts and sought to do more.²⁵⁰ Balch was not content to just work at solving the social problems at hand, she knew that to eliminate it totally one needed to start with the root cause. Therefore when Balch was offered an opportunity to teach economics and sociology on the university level in 1896, she seized it knowing full well that education would be the key to finding a solution for many social problems.

It was her interest in the state of world conditions that next moved Emily Greene Balch to her work on immigration with her findings being published in *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*. The background study for this work brought her to various social levels of life in the little understood Slavic nations. It most likely was this experience that led Balch to a greater understanding of the international state of affairs. Balch began to see that there was a much greater sphere of influence besides that of her own nation. The fledgling women's peace organizations that were being formed in the United States and abroad were interested in bringing about a just peace for all peoples. It was through her membership in the various women's peace organizations, especially the international WILPF, that Balch was able to do some of her greatest work for peace. The WILPF was

²⁵⁰ Randall, *Social Thought*, xxiii.

one of the three major transnational women's peace organizations, according to Leila J. Rupp, that was committed to the concept of internationalism over loyalty to the land of one's birth. Rupp notes in her study that these three groups held to a vision of internationalism that involved world citizenship, repudiation of their own government's politics, replacement of nation based organizing, and participation in the international women's community in Geneva.²⁵¹ This study of Emily Greene Balch furthers many of Rupp's assertions of the strong international unity and collective identity regarding these remarkable women, but with a more intense look at one woman who deserves so much more credit that she has received from the historical community. Rupp's findings about the international women's peace movement are reflected in the actions and ideas of Emily Greene Balch as she worked towards the same goals of peace and internationalism. Balch ideas about a future international community are gathered in *Beyond Nationalism: The Social Thought of Emily Greene Balch*. She expressed these directly in *Approaches to the Great Settlement*. Leila J. Rupp uses much of Balch's commentary to illustrate her key points in her examination of the international women's peace movement and the growth of feminism. In her work, Rupp goes into an in depth examination of the makeup, actions, background, and consciousness of this new class of international feminist consciousness.

An examination of Emily Greene Balch deserves recognition in the historical community as her ideas and writings create a balance between that of the accepted history in foreign policy and internationalism, and the largely unexplored ideas and actions of many who worked in these women's peace organizations. Balch's new ideas on internationalism and peace as explained in many of her works, provide an alternative to

²⁵¹ Rupp, *World's of Women*, 118.

the narrative of white males who were interested in perpetuating their personal ideals and goals. An example of these male assertions about history is an essay by Randolph Bourne. Bourne wrote an article for *The Seven Arts* entitled “The War and the Intellectuals.”²⁵² In his work, Bourne argues that American intellectuals, whom he defines as “Socialists, college professors, publicists, new-republicans, and practitioners of literature,”²⁵³ guided the nation into World War I. An examination of Emily Greene Balch and other women peace activists of that time period paints a very different picture as many of these women were of that very intellectual class Bourne writes about, yet they did not subscribe to, the ideas that he attempts to substantiate in his essay. In reality, the majority of these educated women were pacifists, and therefore would have rejected Bourne’s argument on the grounds that it violated their personal beliefs against war and violence.

Emily Greene Balch was an absolute pacifist in the beginning of her life as she worked and wrote against violence in all forms. Balch was known to publicly defend conscientious objectors and to speak out against war whether as a member of the Woman’s Peace Party or the WILPF. Balch paid a high personal price for her ideals as exemplified in the loss of her professorship at Wellesley College in 1919 after the end of World War I. But Balch found that her new state of unemployment opened up new opportunity for her to do even more work in the quest for a permanent and just peace for all as a full time leader of the WILPF.

Why was it that Emily Greene Balch’s own pacifist views changed with the events of World War II? Balch herself commented that it was no longer possible to overcome the

²⁵² Randolph Bourne, “The War and the Intellectuals,” *The Seven Arts*, II (June 1917).

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 133.

violence of Fascism and Nazism by use of pacifist means. Many individuals had come to the conclusion that brute force was the only thing that could destroy Fascism and National Socialism. Balch herself lamented that “from repeated experiences we women pacifists in Europe have come to recognize this. ... without even for a moment becoming untrue to our pacifist convictions.”²⁵⁴ Emily Greene Balch recognized that World War II was about more than just economic or territorial gain; it was a fight for the freedom of mankind as a whole. Therefore after much self examination and inner turmoil, she allowed herself to work towards the goal of peace while trying to do as much as she possibly could to help with the rising tide of human misery that was a direct result of the war. Balch did much to help with the influx of refugees coming from Europe before and after the war.

Emily Greene Balch was honored for her life’s work by the awarding of the Nobel Peace prize in 1946. Her receiving that honor was an example of the high esteem by which she was held by her peers as there were many others who were worthy of the prize for their work in peace. However, after the announcement of Balch’s selection there was no telegraph of congratulation from President Harry S. Truman or any other prominent U.S. politician. In fact, the New York Times editorialized their disappointment that the prize had not been given to those leaders who were responsible for the creation of the United Nations.²⁵⁵ This was the opposite of the outpouring of public sentiment that Jane Addams received when she won the Nobel Peace prize in 1931. In comparison to Addams, Balch had always been a quiet individual who did not seek the celebrity

²⁵⁴ Balch, *Improper Bostonian*, 350.

spotlight preferring to work quietly behind the scenes, whether it was at the Hague congresses or at WILPF headquarters. Whatever the case, Emily Greene Balch has not received the historical recognition that she deserves for her work in international peace.

What was it about Emily Greene Balch that made her different from Jane Addams and other women who worked for peace? Both Balch and Addams were prolific writers who wrote about social problems and peace, yet Balch offered solutions and ideas to combat the problems. Emily Greene Balch, an intellectual educated in economics and sociology, used her practical knowledge and experience to formulate many of the concepts promoted by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's platform as adopted at The Hague. As many historians now note, much of this platform was later found to be influential in the formulation of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. As has been noted, Balch also wrote many books and articles with suggestions for a fair and lasting peace. Perhaps this is why Balch won the Nobel Peace Prize the first time her name was submitted for consideration.

Another possibility as to why Emily Greene Balch encountered such lukewarm response to receiving the Nobel Peace Prize may have been that it was during the post World War II period. The concept of peace was unpopular as the Cold War and nuclear arms race was intensifying. Perhaps this is why Balch's work received so little recognition. Historian Harriet Hyman Alonzo posits the hypothesis that Jane Addams was known for doing "woman's work" even though she expanded the notion of a separate woman's sphere, where the general historical community ignores Balch because she "crossed that line of appropriate female behavior and stepped into the public sphere

²⁵⁵ Harriet Hyman Alonzo, "Nobel Peace Laureates, Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch: Two Women of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," *Journal of Women's History*, Summer,

itself.”²⁵⁶ This theory makes no sense as it has been established that Balch herself did not relish or ever sought to be in the public attention, whereas Jane Addams was very much in the public eye. Alonzo herself acknowledges that Balch’s name was not a household word and that winning the prize should have vindicated her life’s work but didn’t. One point is clear however, it is up to the historians of today to bring her to the attention of the public and thus establish her reputation within the historical community. This thesis on the work of Emily Green Balch is an attempt to do just that—acquaint a new generation of historians with the work of one remarkable woman who spent her life working towards the goal of an international peace for all mankind.

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²⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

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